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THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

WHY NO WAR

See Page 64

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FRENCH NOW SUGGEST UNION WITH BRITAIN

DANES HOLD TIGHT TO GREENLAND

BLUM AND OTHERS MAKE PLEAS FOR PEACE

British and French Cabinets Ban Talk of New War

War hysteria reached such a crescendo by the early part of April that the French and British cabinets tacitly agreed to refrain from discussing the possibility of Warld War III in cabinet meetings. Both governments are convinced that war talk on the cabinet level would "leak" and seriously undermine morale of the people and be particularly damaging to the gigantic efforts the two countries must make toward economic reconstruction.

Both governments are agreed that Russia should not be permitted to advance any further in Europe, but they believe that this can be achieved without new steps toward war. They are convinced that the main contribution Western Europe can make is the effective strengthening of its economies.

Paris Talks About Franco-British Union

A remarkable proposal—discussed in highest French circles — is the idea of a full-fledged Franco-British federation.

Many French leaders are convinced that the only chance for France and England to become a factor which both the USSR and the US would take seriously, is a federal union.

Not only considerations of security, but economic arguments are advanced to win support for such a union now. French and British economic unity, involving the trade of the colonies as well as the parent countries, and the pooling of all agricultural, mineral and industrial products, would make the new Union the leader in Western Europe. It could give France such security as to make feasible restoration of Germany as a industrial power.

Paradoxically, the situation is the reverse of that of June 1940. At that time, in a dramatic but too-late move, Winston Churchill proposed to the faltering French Government a federal union with common citizenship for the nationals of both countries. The French Government rejected the offer. French public opinion was undoubtedly unprepared for it.

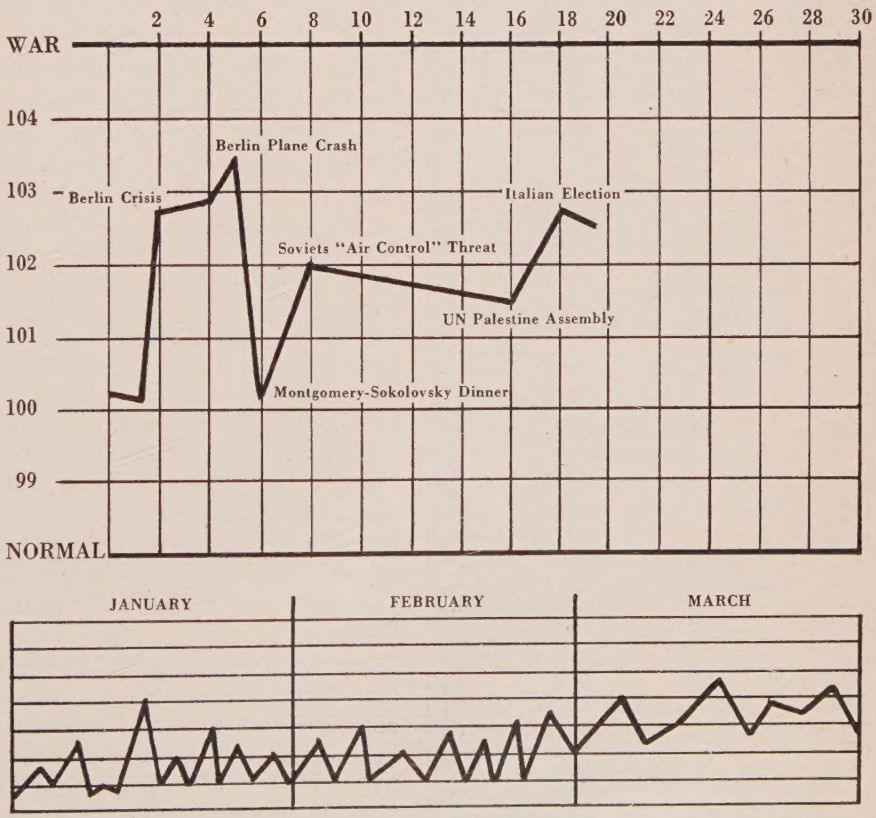
Today, it is France which is taking the initiative and England that seems hesitant. French public opinion realizes, perhaps more clearly than the British, what a new war and occupation would mean. Without Britain, France stands virtually alone, while Britain can visualize union with the other nations of the British Commonwealth as a source of security and strength.

Some of the French enthusiasm may arise from the presence in Paris of Great Britain's new Ambassador, Sir Oliver Harvey. Sir Oliver is credited with having suggested the idea of a Franco-British federal union to Winston Churchill in 1940. Whatever his influence now, the fact remains that in all matters where organic unity is required England seems to be extremely hesitant.

There is evidence that Britain may be more than merely reluctant. For example, France has not yet succeeded in persuading the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembough) to join her in the Franco-Italian Customs Union. The reticence of the three Benelux countries is considered to be inspired by the British.

One French statesman recently voiced France's feeling in these words: "Perhaps one day England will again offer a federal union, and again it may be too late as it was in the case of the Churchill offer in June 1940. Such a federal union now would give Europe a chance to serve not as an appeaser but as a peace factor in the world arena."

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION



JANUARY LOW marks abdication of King Michael; March high, 102.7, indicates tension created by Masaryk death. April's high, 103.5, dangerously approaches the hypothetical maximum.

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Three Men Speak Up For Peace

PARIS. Leon Blum, veteran Socialist leader whose influence on the French Government is considerable, and who is one of the most respected elder statesmen of the world, is making great efforts to analyze the political aims of Europe.

In an editorial in *Le Populaire* which has become the subject of discussion in the innermost circles of the government, M. Blum wrote:

"This Europe is a peaceful force insofar as it groups a number of Powers which are no doubt different in their politico-social structures, traditions and customs, but have this in common: that none of them can be suspected of the least aggressive intention or ulterior motive against any other Power in the world.

"I am convinced also that no such intentions or ulterior motives exist among the Soviet leaders. I am absolutely certain that they do not exist among the American leaders. But there is mutual suspicion, mutual distrust and the cold war; that is to say, a policy of precaution against possible aggression. Europe is a force making for peace. She is the International Third Force insofar as she alone can contribute to calming suspicions, dissipating mistrust and putting an end to the cold war by a final pact of conciliation."

M. Blum, and with him many Western European leaders, is making desperate efforts to stem the tide of war.

RIO DE JANEIRO. In Brazil, Oswaldo Aranha, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and brilliant President of the General Assembly of the UN, delivered a very significant speech to the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Rio de Janeiro. In it he insisted on the necessity of extirpating "fatalism, materialism and pessimism, which lead people to accept the necessity of the inevitability of war as a solution to world problems."

Aranha spoke not only as a Brazilian statesman but as an international leader when he affirmed, "If we give the UN all our immense power and obey its decisions . . . I cannot see how Russia can propose the creation by revolutionary subversion or by political or territorial expansion of a new world Soviet order contrary to democracy."

SHANGHAI. The Chinese Minister for National Education, Dr. Chu Chia-hua, replying indirectly to many recently published articles against UN, stated that the international organization is the "one and only medium whereby mankind can eventually fulfill its aspirations for world peace and prosperity."

At the same time, Chung Fao, adviser to the Chinese delegation to UN, wrote an important article in the paper *Sinuanpao* stressing some of the weaknesses of the present UN organization. He declared that the basic pattern of international relationships is similar to that of post-World War I. The main reasons for the weaknesses of the UN, he concludes, are the Assembly's lack of power to enforce decisions, the veto provision in the Security Council set-up, the absence of agreement on disarmament and atomic energy, the great limitations of the Trusteeship Council and the impotence of the International Court.

Proposing Peace To the Russians

LONDON. Peace is still the foremost topic everywhere in Europe. *News of the World*, the British Sunday newspaper which has the world's largest circulation, expresses the hope that a meeting between Secretary Marshall and Foreign Ministers Ernest Bevin and Georges Bidault, "will take place, thus making possible the production of peace proposals for the consideration of the USSR."

Almost No Comment

The less said about the events in Bogota during the conference of the American Republics the better.

Danes Don't Like Greenland Deal

UNW is advised by a high diplomatic source that a group of United States Senators has recently inquired whether the Danish Government would consider the return of the Virgin Islands to Denmark — in exchange for Greenland.

The suggestion was motivated by urgent strategic considerations. Since war is now viewed in inter-continental terms across the top of the world, Greenland assumes top military significance.

Greenland, the only remaining co-

lonial possession of Denmark, has a total area of 736,518 sq. mi., of which only 31,284 sq. mi. are ice-free. It is capable of accommodating air-bases for both defensive and offensive purposes. More important, it is Europe's best weather station. During World War II, the Germans tried every means to sustain a miniature expeditionary force of weather observers on the gigantic Atlantic island.

Of Greenland's population of 16,630, only about 5,000 are Danes, the majority living in the Southeastern section of the island.

The Virgin Islands, formerly known as the "Danish West Indies," were purchased from Denmark in 1917 for $25 million. During World War I, the Island group, lying between the Atlantic and the Caribbean Sea, represented a defensive outpost against marauding U-boats.

The Danes seem not eager to have the Virgins back. The Senators were told the Danes would not consider abandoning their obligation to "our Eskimoes." The true reason, however, is Danish apprehension lest the USSR regard the abandonment of Danish sovereignty over the strategic island as a hostile act in the midst of acute international tension.

Hemispheric observers viewed the American idea with some misgivings, pointing out that it was made at a time when other members of the Pan-American Union were moving toward a stricter application of the Monroe Doctrine. To this insiders answered by quoting President Roosevelt who considered Greenland a part of the Western Hemisphere.

Paris Hopes For Truman-Stalin Meeting

PARIS. *L'Intransigeant*, conservative French newspaper, continues to speculate on an eventual Truman-Stalin meeting. Speaking of the convention of the Democratic party, the paper comments: "If Mr. Truman could announce at that time that he had reached an agreement with Generalissimo Stalin, his chances of re-election, at present very slight, would increase perceptibly."

The slight easing of the tension is clearly evident in an article in the conservative *France Soir* by Henri de Segonzac, phoned to his paper from London: "The threat of war which in the eyes of the British appeared to be inevitable two weeks ago, has today become once more a far-off possibility. 'Who will fight?' many of my friends ask me. 'Probably not the Russians — certainly not ourselves.' "

Uruguayan-Paraguayan Relations Strained

ASUNCIÓN. Ever since the crash of the TACI plane loaded with arms and medicinal supplies for the anti-Morinigo rebels a few months ago, relations between Uruguay and Paraguay have been tense. Paraguay declared the Uruguayan Minister *persona non grata* and he was obliged to leave Asunción. This month, Paraguay recalled its Minister to Uruguay and virtually closed down its legation, leaving only an employee with no diplomatic status in charge at Montevideo.

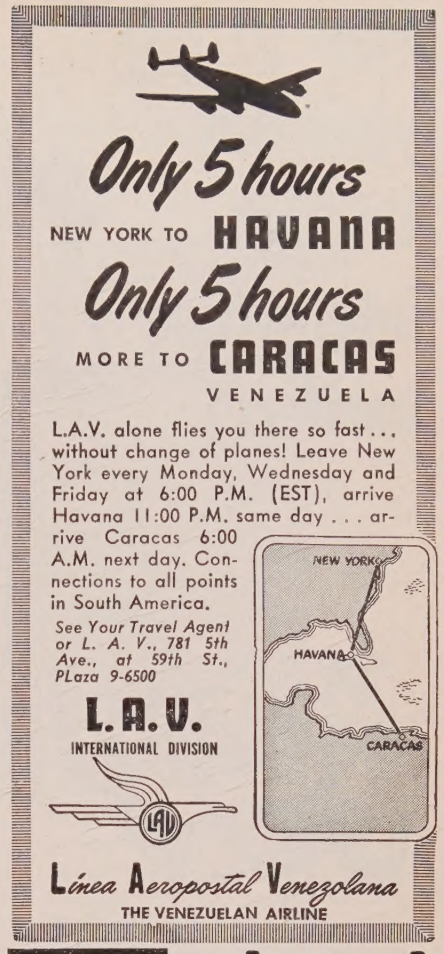
India Promises Minorities Protection

DELHI. The Indian parliament has passed a unanimous resolution barring any alliance of religious and racial groups against others. According to the new law, no communal organization will be permitted to engage in activities other than those essential for bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs.

Prime Minister Nehru himself has led the battle in parliament for strong safeguards for all minorities. The Prime Minister insisted that the equality of all inhabitants of India, not only socially but also legally, is of vital importance to the future development of democracy.

15-Second Report on the STATE OF THE WORLD

ECONOMICALLY: *skies are clearing;*
POLITICALLY: *increasing cloudiness;*
MORALLY: *miserable;*
MILITARILY: *atomic, bacteriological gas, armament and mass-army races begin*
THE UN: *a faithful reflection of the State of the World*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What The Russians Read

BY ALEXANDER S. TROP

While the Western press speculates about possible war, those Russian newspapers and radio programs which are produced for home consumption speak in a calmer tone. Headlines are quiet, most dealing with domestic reconstruction, industrial and agricultural activities — in strange contrast with the vocal attitude of USSR delegates in international conferences.

A survey of a random 4-page (March 20) issue of *Izvestia*, shows the following:

FRONT PAGE — HEADLINES

The Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance [an editorial]

Stalin Dinner in Honor of the Bulgarian Government delegates

[One-half of the front page was devoted to the granting of titles of heroes of socialist labor.]

Time for Spring Sowing [an article]

Shipbuilding at Kuibyshev

New Varieties of Cotton

Conference of Alpinists [at Kiev]

Seal Industry in the Caspian Region

Electrical Machines in Riga

Snowfall in Moldavia

PAGE 2 — HEADLINES

Building the Soviet — Deficiencies in Regional Leadership

Proposals of Voters Put into Effect

New building in Armenia

Third blast furnace at Kirov

Sea Passenger Lines

Railroad Station at Narva

Along with Successes . . . [Are Kolkhoz shortcomings]

Popular Scientific Films

Profit problems [of capital goods, efficiency, cost reduction and production increases.]

PAGE 3 — HEADLINES

Letters to the Editor [none of which concerns international affairs]

New Books — Notes of Russian Travellers

Famous Russian Painter [Praise for Shishkin on the 50th anniversary of his death.]

Tracing Unpublished Letters — Let Us Improve Cultural Facilities for the Working People of Tsuvashia [Digest of a worker's complaint against district officials.]

Meeting of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences

Gardening in 1948

120 New Sanatoria and Rest Homes

From Everywhere [2 short items.]

Wallace Radio Speech [almost 2 full columns.]

Progressive Citizens of America on Truman's speech [to Congress on March 17]

Statement of Togliatti to AP

Statement by Ziliacus [Koni Ziliacus, M.P., attacks US as aggressive, imperialistic, threatening.]

Clementis, new Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia

Resignation of Lausman from chairmanship of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party

Creation of a Consultative Organ of the Five Powers

PAGE 4 — HEADLINES

The 2nd German Popular Congress

Marshall Statement to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee [24 lines]

Statement of Federico Cantoni

New Provocation of the French

Occupation by the Troops of the Chinese National Liberation Army of the city of Tsinan [20 lines]

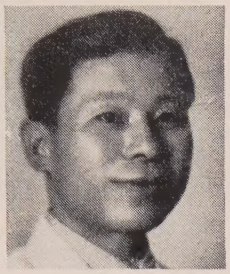
The Friends of von Schnitzler at Work [Almost two full columns charging Anglo-American business leaders with influencing acquittals for German industralists.]

The last column is devoted to sports, radio and the theatre.

The only violent (Russian) attacks against the West in this issue of *Izvestia* are contained in the report on the Bulgarian peace treaty and in the article on lenient treatment of German industrialists accused of war crimes. But, when the anti-US Ziliacus speeches, the Togliatti and PCA statements, are added, 25.4 per cent of the total editorial space is devoted to the cold war — but without headline hoopla.

A POETRY-LOVING SCHOLAR, DR. KANG IS ALSO A CRITIC OF MISRULE — WHETHER BY JAPANESE, AMERICANS, RUSSIANS OR KOREANS

Introducing



YOUNGHILL KANG

Younghill Kang, whose report on life in Korea appears on page 18, is probably the most famous Korean alive. One of the top half-dozen classical oriental scholars, he is at the same time a scholar of major stature, occidental style.

Dr. Kang, who is a stocky, vital, 44-year-old college instructor, was once a Korean revolutionary. He arrived in New York, a fugitive from Japanese "thought police" one March day 26 years ago when he was 19.

He had four U. S. dollar bills and a letter of introduction to a YMCA executive. He had only an inexpert command of English, though a wide reading knowledge of the language.

The first night he spent in a hotel room for which he paid half his fortune. The next morning he spent a dime for breakfast, called on the YMCA man who sent him off on a wild-goose chase after a whites-only job in Harlem. En route, he walked from the Battery to Harlem, spending two dimes for lunch and talking to every New Yorker who would direct him.

Some smiled at him, others tried to correct his accent. One wayside acquaintance inquired why he didn't get a haircut.

Eager to please, Dr. Kang entered a glass palace where the barber sold him everything — shampoo, hair oil, perfume and a final flourish of brushes. In happy ignorance he had assumed he was getting all this for one admission price. The bill, which he paid in a state of shock, was $1.60, leaving him 10 cents.

He lived on that dime for weeks. Twenty-four hours after stepping off the ship he was a bum. Next morning, refused soup and coffee in a breadline because he lacked a ticket from some charity, he realized he was not even a bum.

"Contrary to what one might suppose," he points out, "being a bum required recognition and capital."

Eventually Dr. Kang attended Boston and Harvard universities, wrote three fine books — *The Grass Roof*, *East Goes West* and *The Happy Grove* — became a staff member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a member of the faculty at New York University where he now teaches a course in the comparative cultures of East and West. During the War he did important work for the military services. Two years ago he went to Korea as Chief of Publications in the Military Government's Office of Public Information. Later he became political analyst and advisor to the director of the XXIV Corps Office of Civil Information.

Dr. Kang is married to an American girl, Frances Keely, poetry-writing graduate of Wellesley, and is the father of two children, Lucy Lynn, 17, a freshman at Barnard College, and Christopher, 11, a fifth-grader in the Huntington, Long Island, public school.

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1948
BRITAIN—HOST TO THE OLYMPICS

BRITISH RAILWAYS

In exclusive interview, Philip Noel-Baker declares that the paradox of unity-through-independence has made the Commonwealth 'the greatest single moral and political force in the world today'

NOEL-BAKER — HIS FAITH LIES IN UNITY.

The Source of Britain's Moral Strength

BY NANCY H. MacLENNAN

In answers to four important questions, Philip Noel-Baker, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, sets forth a philosophy of world-wide government. The international unity-with-independence of which he boasts is, even for Britain's admirers, an ideal, real but not yet attained. For others it is a fiction, unreal and unattainable without a drastic reshaping of governments. To any reader, however, the opinions of Mr. Noel-Baker will be of vital importance. — ED.

1 *Compared with its unity during the war, how successful is the Commonwealth now in achieving a joint foreign policy? Are all members agreed concerning the German peace treaty, the Japanese peace treaty, atomic energy control?*

"The eight nations in the Commonwealth are substantially in full agreement in their policies concerning the international control of atomic energy and the German and Japanese peace treaties. In any case, on the fundamental issues of peace and war and on the restraint of aggression by collective action, the unity of the British Commonwealth has proved itself to be the greatest single moral and political force in world affairs.

"Yet the dominions are perfectly free to follow their own line in foreign affairs. Even in a question so important as Palestine. Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand all voted for partition; India and Pakistan voted against it; the United Kingdom abstained.

2 *What steps, if any, are being taken to expand the principle of common citizenship for individuals living within the Commonwealth?*

"Our Parliament and the Parliaments of other members of the Commonwealth are now passing new legislation on this subject, the general effect of which will be to maintain the principle of common citizenship while recognizing the different requirements of different Members for immigration, exercise of Parliamentary franchise, and other problems.

"Members of the Commonwealth are all equal — as someone said, 'The United Kingdom is the last of the dominions.' The Statute of Westminster says that they are bound by a common allegiance to the Crown — which means that they are bound by common traditions and loyalties, by habits of thought and co-operation, which go far back into history.

"They are bound in other ways. They all have free Parliaments, democratically elected; laws which guarantee the fullest degree of personal liberty; judicial systems that make the rule of law supreme; a policy of social progress which has given them a rising standard of living and education for every citizen. They are all Members of the United Nations and bound by its Charter.

"Above all — and this is the real essence of their association — they all base their policy on the proposition that their vital interests are common interests, which they share, and which they can only promote by common action. In consequence, the dealings of my Office with the Dominion Governments are based on absolute trust. Whatever differences we may have, through mutual concessions, we never fail to reach agreement.

"This means, as Mr. Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who was so prominent at San Francisco and in the First Assembly, summed it up the other day: 'the freedom of the Dominions is not independence with something taken away; it is independence with something added.' "

3 *What forms does Communist influence take in the British colonies and non-self-governing territories, and how is your Office coping with the situation?*

"There are not many Communist agitators in the British colonies. The few there are trying to exploit any grievances or any poverty they may find. We find that the best reply is to remedy the grievance. For the rest,

we believe freedom of speech, writing and association for all."

4 *Is not the British Commonwealth greatly weakened by the fact that India, Pakistan and Ceylon all* have become independent in the last *12 months, and will not Britain's position as a world power be much diminished?*

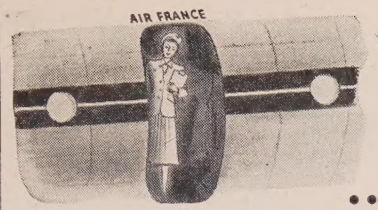
"In 1895, the Canadian Government, which already had complete control of the internal affairs of Canada, demanded the right to negotiate its own trade treaties by its own agents abroad. A British Secretary of State replied that such a concession was unthinkable. It would undermine the responsibility and authority of the 'Imperial Government.'

"Today, Canada and all the other Dominions are fully self-governing, and make their own decisions on every issue of external, as of internal affairs. Yet the structure of the Commonwealth, the bonds between its members, are far stronger than they were when the legal forms of British 'Sovereignty' were still intact.

"From Lord Durham's grant of self-government to Canada in 1838, right through to Campbell Bannerman's magnificent gesture to the Boer leaders in South Africa in 1907 and the Statute of Westminster in 1926, every act of emancipation has made our nations more united than before.

"No one can foretell what the future of India, Pakistan and Ceylon may be. They will decide their own future as they wish. They have their own free Parliaments, which are sovereign in every way. I only say that our relations with them all are now as warm and friendly as anyone could desire, and that the whole history of the Commonwealth makes me a firm believer in national freedom.

"The decision of India and Pakistan to lay their case [dispute and conflict over the princely state of Kashmir] before the Council was a momentous event in the history of the United Nations. There has been, and there still remains, a grave danger of war. If war happened, it would be a catastrophe beyond imagination, and it would be the crowning failure of the cause for which Gandhi lived. But I have every hope that the statesmanship which brought the dispute to the Security Council will in the end bring a settlement."



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Letters

TO THE EDITOR

UFW Retort

It is distressing to see world federalism so misinterpreted as it is in your March editorial. . . . You write "W.G. supporters must take their place in the ranks of UN." They do. They are its principal supporters. *They* are the people who want to give the UN the powers it needs to do its peace-making job.

MRS. HENRY A. STONE, JR.
United World Federalists
Somerset Hills, N. J.

Inter-national society (society between nations) is an impossibility. To demand it as the prerequisite "which must precede world government" is to misread both history and the signs and symptoms of these anguished days. . . . International society is impossible without government. . . . Peace is not possible without government on any geo-political level at this point in human development. . . . The UN does offer one important service during the interim between anarchy and government: it keeps national representatives talking with each other; when they no longer do so the chances are that the cold war will have taken on heat.

Also, the UN is of functional value in those areas covered by its special commissions.

PHILLIPS RUOPP
Associate Editor
Common Cause

We, as world federalists, would indeed be very glad to take our place in the ranks of the UN . . . if we were represented by being allowed to *elect* our delegates to the UN.

JOSEPH A. PRACHER
World Republic
Berwyn, Ill.

To deride the efforts of those who are trying to create sentiment for W.G. on the grounds that it cannot be done in two years, is to be a defeatist to the very extreme.

MURRAY L. SILBERSTEIN
New York, N. Y.

With the utter failure of UN before the eyes of a desperate world, how can the masses of the people see anything else but a designed evil gesture to deceive them into thinking something good was being planned, when the real intent was the preservation of the minority powers which now rule over us?

F. M. STEADMAN
San Diego, California

Palestine partition and the Czech plea cannot be sidestepped, and yet they cannot be handled by a UN unable to enforce its decisions. Those to whom the UN is most precious should be most forthright in giving it what it is so plainly asking for today. . . . And so we come to the program of UWF, which is to get the American people to accept the idea that the UN must be strong enough to do what it obviously has to do. There is no time to lose.

MARY-STUART CHAMBERLAIN
Washington, D. C.

Praise for Cecil

It is a constant tradition with the Brazilian people to repudiate wars of aggression and a provision to this effect was inserted in the Brazilian constitution, promulgated in 1891. . . . Our government is ready to support the International Law Commission of the UN, and expresses the wish that the conception of aggression as an international crime may result from their labors . . .

For all these reasons, I consider that the publication of Viscount Cecil's important suggestion (UNW, Sept.) is extremely opportune and, I think, the most valuable contribution brought to the discussion of the subject by this venerable champion of world peace.

RAUL FERNANDEZ
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Security Sickness

I am so sick of greed, of lying, hypocrisy, double-talk, of imperialism, whether military or economic, of kidding the little people into believing that this is the war . . . "to preserve world peace" — as though any war could preserve peace by destroying it!

I am sick of "cold wars," "trade wars" — wars of any kind and for any purpose . . . I wish I could find some part of the world where a man could live decently without fear, where his sons would not be torn from him.

KENNETH FORD BOYNTON
Oakland, California

No Sale

Will you kindly explain to me why the purchase of a part of Palestine from the Arabs by the Jews has apparently never been discussed, or why it would not be a practical solution . . . offering a promise of peace when all else seems to be failing?

MRS. R. V. BONAME
Rye, N. Y.

This proposal has been made repeatedly, but Arab leaders have forbidden sales of land to Jews — Ed.

Sale

Why don't you have a special student subscription rate? I believe it would be well worth a try.

JOE WEIS
Manhattan, Kansas

It just happens that we do have a group rate which applies to students, which is $3.00 a year for 10 or more copies sent to the same address. — Ed.

Required Reading

Could I have your permission to have copies of Ambassador Austin's very clear and helpful article in the April *UN World* mimeographed for my students? I find UN World a great help in my teaching.

ROBERT MCNAIR DAVIS
Professor of Law
University of Kansas

Permission gladly granted. — Ed.

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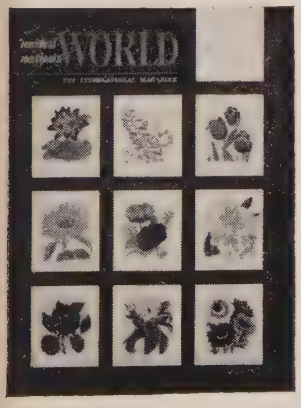

THE COVER
John Wedda, well-known water colorist, painted this floral symbol of UN.

UN WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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An Inside Repor

BY LADISLAS FARAGO

A few weeks ago a top-ranking official of the Arabian American Oil Company was rushed to Riadh, winter capital of Ibn Saud's oily empire, to renegotiate certain royalty clauses in his company's contract with Saudi Arabia. He was told to acquire an Arab headgear and robe for the trip.

No infidel is allowed to wear occidental garb within the walls of this Wahhabi stronghold in the Flaming Desert. So it happened that when the florid, rotund, reddish New Yorker stepped from Aramco's private plane in Riadh, he looked more like a perspiring fugitive from the Mardi Gras than the Fifth Avenue executive that he is.

The spirit of polite compromise that induced this important American to succumb to the archaic protocol of a desert despot, inspires others to yield to different forms of Arab pressure. The immense oil wealth of the Arab world is usually behind most of these pressures.

"When we mention oil," the influential Jerusalem daily *Falastin* remarked a few weeks ago, "we mention the only instrument of persuasion we Arabs possess. But in its international significance, our oil is equal to the atomic bomb of the Americans."

On March 18, 1948, this potent "atomic bomb" of the Arabs succeeded in blowing up, not only the controversial pro-partition stand of the Truman Administration, but also the 24-year-old policy of the US Government that advocated "the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

By bizarre coincidence, the United States announced its new Palestine policy on a significant anniversary. Exactly 33 years before, on March 18, 1915, a scrawny British intelligence officer wrote to his chief in London: "Can you get someone to suggest to Winston that there is a petrol spring on the beach." The officer was Lawrence of Arabia. "Winston" was of course Churchill, who saw that Lawrence's suggestion received the attention it deserved.

From that petrol spring on the beach gushed forth the ocean of oil which today both lubricates and smears the Middle Eastern policies of all great powers. Lawrence's seep has grown into gigantic fields stretching from the Mosul of Iraq to the new forest of derricks in the sand dunes of the Rub al Khali. The Middle East is estimated to have 30 billion barrels of underground oil reserves, 40 per cent of the world's total.

US INTEREST DATES BACK 29 YEARS

The US State Department has been keeping a suspicious eye on Arabia's vast oil resources since 1919 when Professor William Yale of President Wilson's peace commission first told Lawrence's chief in British Intelligence that, in his opinion, "the United States would not tolerate a British monopoly" of Arabian oil.

It is not generally realized how correct Professor Yale's early prediction was. For many years the Middle East was commonly believed to be an exclusively British plum. This misconception was largely due to the ability of American oil companies to keep their names out of the headlines. Even today, many think Aramco is sole American oil company with a major stake in the area.

The fact is that there are at present five major United States firms holding Middle East oil concessions, that equal if they do not surpass the British.

Standard of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum jointly own the Near East Development Corp. Near East, in turn, owns 23.75 per cent of the Iraq Petroleum Co. And Iraq Petroleum, in the words of John A. Loftus, a former chief of the State Department's Petroleum Division, "controls . . . all of the oil of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and the coastal sheikhdoms of Arabia. . . ."

Standard of California and the Texas Co. jointly own Aramco (whose concessions cover the whole of Saudi Arabia), and Bahrein Petroleum Co. (which covers the archipelago in the Persian Gulf).

Gulf Oil Corp. is half owner of Kuweit Oil Co., holding the concession to the entire oil resources of Kuweit, another Persian Gulf principality. Output of companies either fully or partly owned by United States firms now exceeds 160 million barrels per year. This is 70,000,000 barrels in excess of the annual production of the British firm, Anglo-Iranian, and reflects the massive economic and political stake American interests have in the once neglected region.

The British and French companies which operate in the area have always been frank "instruments of national policy." Anglo-Iranian is, in fact, controlled by the British Admiralty. Its profits are used to provide unvouchered funds for British Intelligence, including operatives in the Middle East.

In contrast, for almost 20 years American oil companies in the Middle East posed virtually no diplomatic or political problems. But, then,

WHAT PRESSURES, PREJUDICES AND PERSONALITIES
ARE BEHIND BRITAIN'S STERN POLICY AND AMERICA'S SWITCHES

On The Palestine Fiasco

Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia produced only 1,350 barrels a day even 10 years ago. Operations in Bahrein started only in 1938, in Kuweit in 1946.

Today the situation is entirely different. Aramco produces 400,000 barrels every day, and the production of the Bahrein and Kuweit fields is rising rapidly. Moreover, diplomatic developments in the postwar world created conditions in which the established private interests of the oil companies coincided with the newly developed foreign policy of the United States. The Truman Doctrine and especially the Marshall Plan made Middle Eastern oil vital to US policy.

The remarkable recent parallelism between the private interests of the oil companies and the national interests of the United States was inferentially conceded by Loftus himself: "Barring political upheavals," he wrote in the January, 1948, issue of *The Middle East Journal*, "the main determinant of the future pattern of control of the oil in the Middle East is likely to be the fact that its *production* and *distribution* must be integrated, at least to some degree, with the pattern of control over *oil markets* in the Eastern Hemisphere, particularly in Europe." (Italics mine — L. F.)

In concrete terms this means that Europe must be kept as a market for Middle Eastern oil. Neither the Middle East nor Asia provides a market, and, according to Loftus, "the United States market is not yet ready to assimilate significant quantities of Middle East oil." While the Marshall Plan was not designed to sell oil in Europe, it is nevertheless expected to sustain and bolster the crucial western European market.

It is fair to say that, while the Marshall Plan needs Middle Eastern oil for its success, the oil companies need the Marshall Plan for survival. The ERP's dependence on Middle Eastern oil was most emphatically stressed by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Commerce Secretary Averell Harriman, before various Senate Committees and private groups, frequently in connection with the Administration's ambivalent attitude toward the Palestine problem and its solution.

THE GULLIVER OF THE PERSIAN GULF

Largely due to this new interdependence, American oil firms became prominent among the foes of the Truman Administration's pro-partition policy. Expenses of an Arab propaganda office in Washington and London, as well as of certain Arab delegates to UN, were paid by oil companies. Aramco supplied partition's most outspoken opponent, one of its own vice presidents. Dapper, diminutive, James Terry Duce made no secret of his spending Aramco money on Arabs. He was soon dubbed "Il Duce" by Washington correspondents who relished his tart answers to Congressional inquisitors.

Another spokesman of the anti-partition forces is that colorful American oil diplomat, William Alfred Eddy. This 51-year old ex-president of Hobart College, ex-Colonel of Marines, ex-Naval Attache in spy-infested Tangier during World War II, ex-Minister to Saudi Arabia and Yemen, ex-chief of the State Department's political intelligence division — now acts as Aramco's ace diplomat "in charge of government relations," — both in the US and Saudi Arabia. He is the man who wore kefiya and abaya to Riadh.

Colonel Eddy was born in the Middle East. A synthesis of orient and occident, he recites with equal ease and gusto the ambiguous Arabic sonnets of the poet Abu Firas and long passages from Jonathan Swift, his favorite author.

Eddy himself reminds one of Gulliver. At home both among the Lilliputians of Washington and the Brobdidnaghians of Araby, he is credited with persuading Ibn Saud to resist Arab League pressure and to refuse to cancel Aramco's concession in retaliation for early American support of partition. Flown home from his mission to Saudia, Eddy then managed to persuade former colleagues in the State Department to pay more heed to Arab public opinion, at least on the Palestine issue.

Thereafter the arguments of this anti-partition lobby were echoed by Cabinet members, high military and naval officials, newspaper writers, and State Department tipsters. Middle East oil was described as vital to US security, especially "in view of an acute oil shortage in the US." This last was an imaginative argument which Loftus punctured.

Writing again in *The Middle East Journal*, he declared: "The balance of economic and political considerations is such as to preclude completely any 'flood of imports' from the Middle East in the near future. The companies presently controlling the resources of the Middle East have . . . interests in the continental United States and in nearby South America of such magnitude that for them to ship their Middle East output to the Western Hemisphere would be illogical in terms of transport crosshauls

Palestine Fiasco *(Continued)*

and suicidal in terms of marketing policy."

Joseph E. Pogue of Chase National Bank, a member of the national Petroleum Council, stated in this connection: "The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here."

Eugene Holman, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, wrote: "The nation's oil 'resources' are much larger than its 'reserves.' Clearly, we have far more than — at least several times — ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production."

Such corporate statesmanship within the industry went far to reduce the ultimate effectiveness of the oil lobby. In fact, it would be an unwarranted exaggeration to say that oil interests alone brought about the reversal of US policy on Palestine.

THE STRINGS THAT PULLED THE SILKEN CURTAIN

At least four forces were at work in two hemispheres.

1. Probably the most important single force is a group of Near Eastern specialists within the British Foreign Office.

2. A subsidiary British force is a small group of highminded, Elizabethan adventurers in the great tradition of Clive, Rhodes and Gordon — men like the genial Glubb Pasha, commander-in-chief of Transjordan's Arab Legion, and the diffident Brigadier Clayton, chief of Britain's Middle Eastern Intelligence Center. To them, resurrected Arab grandeur is but a projection of Britain's own fading imperial glory.

3. A third force is composed of top-ranking military planners in the US and UK. To them the Middle East is the threatened left flank of an imaginary Suez Canal front which must be defended against a possible Soviet move.

4. Still another force is a disparate composite of Pan Arabia enthusiasts and professional Jew-baiters.

The Palestine problem, that now confronts the world, is the out-growth of a crucial decision of the British Foreign Office, reached 10 years ago in the face of overwhelming odds on the highest diplomatic level.

In the fall of 1938, confronted with German and Italian expansion, the Foreign Office decided to organize the Middle East into a homogeneous Arab front. To this end it was decided to eliminate or reduce such "extraneous influences" as the French in Syria-Lebanon, and the Zionists in Palestine. The Foreign Office believed, with some justification, that the efficiency of Zionism and the inefficiency of French colonial administration were serious obstacles to unification of the region.

The British decision to reduce Zionist influence by direct action was publicly proclaimed on May 17, 1939. On that date, the British Government published Command Paper 6019, entitled *Palestine, Statement of Policy*, a frank repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and of all efforts toward the creation of a Jewish Palestine.

The key to Britain's new Palestine policy may be found in a seemingly innocuous subparagraph of this White Paper. Sub-paragraph 7 contained this provision: "His Majesty's Government will require to be satisfied that in the (projected) treaty . . . adequate provision has been made for . . . such *requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by His Majesty's Government in the light of the circumstances then existing.*" (Italics mine. L. F.)

Emphasis on "strategic requirements" was easy enough to understand in the atmosphere in which the White Paper was born. The British decision of 1939 was motivated by considerations strikingly similar to those which induced the Truman Administration to reverse its policy in 1948: first, by fear of an imminent war; second, by perhaps exaggerated views of Palestine's strategic significance; and third, by a recognition of growing Pan Arab strength in contrast to diminishing Jewish influence, under the hammer blows of Nazism.

Two stipulations were openly designed to terminate all Jewish aspirations in the Holy Land.

First, His Majesty's Government resolved that after 1944 "no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are pr[e]pared to acquiesce in it."

Second, the High Commissioner [for] Palestine was given general powe[r] to "prohibit" transfers of land fro[m] Arab to Jewish owners, the chi[ef] method of Jewish colonization [in] Palestine.

Winston Churchill, in some of th[e] most eloquent sentences of his or[a]torical career, expressed world-wi[de] popular opposition to the White P[a]per:

"I cannot understand why th[is] course has been taken," he said. "[In] our condition so parlous and ou[r] state so poor that we must, in ou[r] weakness, make this sacrifice of ou[r] declared purpose?

"Although I have been very an[x]ious that we should strengthen ou[r] armaments and spread our alliance[s] and so increase the force of our pos[i]tion, I must say that I have not take[n] such a low view of the strength [of] the British Empire or of the ver[y] many powerful countries who desi[re] to walk in association with us. . .

"I cannot believe that the task t[o] which we set our hand 20 years ag[o] in Palestine is beyond our strength[s] or that faithful perseverance will no[t] in the end, bring that task to a glor[i]ous success."

However, Britain was reinforced i[n] her determination by support she re[-]ceived from certain officials withi[n] the US State Department; and b[y] two top-secret letters President Roose[-]velt wrote to King Ibn Saud, assu[r]ing him that no decision involvin[g] Palestine would be reached withou[t] prior and full consultation with th[e] Arab world. (The second of thes[e] two letters has not been released a[s] yet.) Britain was, indeed, tacitly en[-]couraged to implement the policy o[f] the White Paper.

In a speech in London's Mansio[n] House in 1943, Foreign Secretar[y] Anthony Eden called upon the Ara[b] world to organize a regional bloc fo[r] a better and more efficient represen[-]tation of their joint international in[-]terests and aspirations.

Sections "E" and "J" — the Nea[r] Eastern and Egyptian Sections — o[f] the Foreign Office assigned their bes[t] men to aid the Arab world in the or[-]ganization of this bloc. Among thes[e] men was Harold Beeley, a tall, rangy scholar-diplomat. He is now the mas[-]termind behind Britain's Palestin[e] policy.

In the meantime, a small American diplomatic group, headed by Loy Henderson and George Wadsworth, established a working alliance with the British. The clandestine actions of this small American diplomatic group amazed and disturbed members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, a bi-national, bi-partisan agency, sent to the Holy Land early in 1946 to make recommendations toward a solution.

The American members of the Committee were given a file marked "Confidential Communications on Palestine," by the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, the center of State Department opposition to a Jewish Home Land in Palestine. It contained seventeen items, including secret diplomatic cables dated May 26 and October 26, 1943; February 24, March 4, March 28, 1944; and October 23, 1945, sent to the Foreign Ministries of Egypt, the Yemen, Iraq, the Lebanese Republic, and Saudi Arabia. They reiterated American assurances that, regardless of contrary public statements, utmost consideration would be given to the Arab viewpoint in all efforts to solve the Palestine problem.

Up to this point, early in 1946, Palestine was a diplomatic matter handled by the Foreign and Colonial Offices in Whitehall and the State Department in Washington. But shortly after the Inquiry Committee submitted its recommendations (which provoked Mr. Beeley to remark, "We certainly won't implement a program like this"), the whole problem was shifted from the diplomatic into the military sphere.

On June 15, 1946, Field Marshal Lord Montgomery, chief of the British Imperial General Staff, arrived in Jerusalem for a vital strategy meeting with his commanders in the Middle East. The conference took place behind the doors of Government House, a fortress-like edifice reminiscent of a crusader's castle.

At the conference Montgomery and his lieutenants decided (1) to provide military implementation for the hitherto largely ephemeral White Paper, (2) to establish the center of Britain's military position in the Middle East in Palestine and Transjordan, and, (3) to oppose the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state by all means available.

The decision of the Jerusalem Conference was placed before His Majesty's Government immediately upon Viscount Montgomery's return to London.

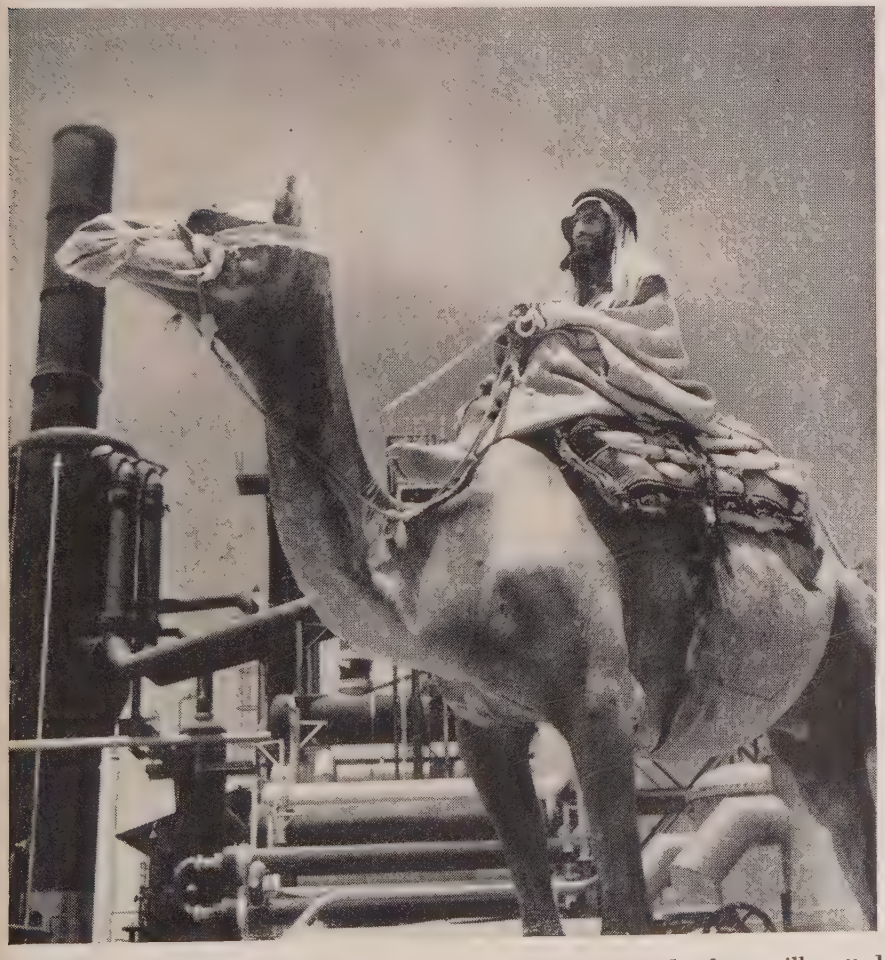
From London, Field Marshal Montgomery continued his journey to Washington. On September 11-12, 1946, he laid his Palestine program before the Combined Chiefs of Staffs, and invited its consideration by the American Joint Chiefs.

However, military influence proved insufficient to sway the Administration which continued to hold to the policy stated in the Democratic platform in 1944: "We favor . . . a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth" in Palestine.

Partition of Palestine was formally recommended at the turbulent closing session of the UN General Assembly, on Nov. 29, 1947. U. S. delegate Herschell V. Johnson declared of the decision: "The General Assembly's action on the Palestine question demonstrates that the UN is capable of dealing forthrightly with urgent international issues." This view, and Johnson's opinion that partition "is the best present solution of an old and exceedingly complex problem," was not shared by the Office of Near Eastern Affairs of the State Department and its chief, Mr. Loy Henderson.

In fact, the Palestine issue was considered on its own merit for only 48 hours — during the relaxed week-end that followed the Friday night vote in the General Assembly. But by Monday, Palestine was again a mere pawn in the cold war. Even while the Assembly debated partition, and during the days which followed the vote, France was rocked by violent Communist-led strikes; a left-wing plot and civil war was reported to be imminent in Italy; the Four Power Conference (which lured Secretary Marshall to London from Flushing Meadow) was stalemated by insoluble Russo-American differences. Early in December it was moving rapidly toward the inevitable breakdown.

TWO FACTORS IN A FIASCO



ARAB AND OIL. This striking photograph of bedouin, camel and refinery, silhouetted against a dusty sky, symbolize only a few of the problems in the Palestine complex.

Palestine Fiasco *(Continued)*

The anti-partition forces in the State Department and the Pentagon, almost reconciled to their defeat, now felt compelled to renew their apprehensive opposition. Moving discreetly behind the scenes, their argumentation appeared persuasive enough. In view of the hectic world situation, they said, partition of Palestine was contrary to the best interests of and therefore unacceptable to the United States.

Loy Henderson's campaign against partition was outlined during a conference held in early December, 1947.

In the days that followed this meeting Henderson devised the program that was to emerge as the US Government's *official* Palestine policy in the following months. Completely disregarding the General Assembly's recommendation, Henderson suggested:

1. that the entire Palestine question be recommitted to another Special Session of the General Assembly;

2. that Palestine be placed under UN trusteeship pending a solution different from the partition recommendation; and,

3. that the solution be patterned after the so-called Morrison-Grady plan. This plan, drafted by Herbert Morrison of the United Kingdom and Henry F. Grady of the United States, granted a modicum of autonomy to a small Jewish area in a centrally controlled Palestine.

The first overt declaration of US opposition to the partition plan was made on Dec. 1, 1947. On that day, the AP was permitted to reveal that "United States military observers" opposed partition on the grounds that it might "put Russian troops on the Mediterranean, within flying minutes of the Suez Canal, and within easy striking distance of American oil concessions in Saudi Arabia." AP further reported that "a highly placed officer who could not be identified, said: 'It can be expected within 90 days, if real fighting breaks out in Palestine. It will be very embarrassing for the British and ourselves.' "

This unnamed "highly placed" American officer was Gen. Joseph Lawton ("Lightning Joe") Collins, hero of Cherbourg, an exceptionally influential officer by virtue of his prominent position as Deputy Chief of Staff of the US Army and in the Joint and Combined Chiefs of Staffs.

The first indication that the White House, too, was having a change of heart came on December 5, even before Henderson's new policy was completed in draft. President Truman, in a move clearly designed to re-establish US neutrality after overt intervention during the Assembly, clamped an embargo on arms shipments destined for Palestine. The move was decided upon despite Washington's awareness that Britain was continuing so-called treaty shipments of arms to Middle Eastern countries — most of the arms finding their way into Arab hands in Palestine.

Thus did conditions in the world at large bring to fruition Field Marshal Montgomery's earlier effort to gain US military support for his Middle Eastern program.

In the November, 1947, issue of *United Nations World*, this writer reported:

"The question of peace or war in the Middle East depends on two little-known Britons. If these men abide by the decision of the UN and the instructions of his Majesty's Government, and disappear from the scene at the psychological moment, the military structure of Arab resistance will collapse like a house of cards. [But] if they decide to throw themselves into the struggle on the side of the Arabs, there will be war."

It is now possible to report that these two key Britons, John Baggot Glubb and Patrick Andrew Clayton have joined the Arabs in their all-out opposition to partition. On March 16, Foreign Minister Fawzi Pasha el-Molki of Transjordan announced in Amman that under the terms of a new treaty with Britain, Glubb Pasha will continue in his post as commander of the Arab Legion. Simultaneously it was reported that "no reduction was contemplated in the number of British officers serving with Transjordan's desert striking force."

Almost on the same day an intercept from Beirut revealed that Glubb Pasha had entered Palestine "on a secret mission closely connected with the Arab Legion." Within a few days of Glubb's arrival in Palestine (and of his confirmation in command of Transjordan's subsidized army), his Arab Legion crossed the frontier into Palestine and, in the words of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Jabari of Hebron, "took over security control in two [Palestinian] Arab districts."

The legionnaires of Glubb Pasha occupied British Army barracks in the Hebron district in the Judean Hills, and quarters in Nablus in the Samarian Hills, the two major centers of Arab opposition. There they were inspected by Glubb Pasha.

BRITAIN'S RECORD ON THE ARAB INVASION OF PALESTINE

The Arab Legion's invasion of Palestine, which Whitehall described as "most unfortunate and embarrassing," climaxed a series of military moves tolerated by the British.

Only once, on Jan. 21, 1948, did Britain protest to the governments of Syria and Transjordan against the invasion of Arab forces.

When the protest was ignored, no further action was taken by the UK, even though similar incursions from Syria, Transjordan and Lebanon continued on an increasing scale.

On February 24, for example, Britain herself, reported to the Security Council that "between 500 and 1,000 Iraqis, Lebanese, Syrians, Egyptians, and Transjordanians entered Samaria and Galilee across the Jordan and the Lebanese frontier."

On March 5, according to another official British source, Fawzi al-Kawukji entered Palestine with his headquarters troops to assume command of the so-called Yarmuk formation, to which he was appointed on February 5, in Damascus, at a special session of the Arab League.

Various intelligence sources, including those of Britain, had no difficulty in identifying the armed Arab formations on Palestinian soil.

They included several regiments of Syrian troops at Jaba and Jenin, commanded by a Syrian officer named Mohammed Safa and an Iraqi named Hashem Mohammed; the al-Hussein regiment at Attil, commanded by another Iraqi named Abdul Wahhab; the al-Hasan regiment at Tubas, under the command of still another Iraqi named Mahmud at-Hindi; an Iraqi contingent near the source of the Jerusalem water supply; an Egyptian contingent at Gaza; and a Bosnian-Moslem contingent of former

Nazi collaborators near Lydda.

Glubb is a soldier-philosopher to whom Arabia is dear chiefly as the confirmation of an abstract theory. His colleague, Brigadier Clayton, a nervous, overshy, morose Briton tormented by chronic sinus trouble, is a practical politican — chief British agent in the Middle East. He does not bother to conceal his violent opposition to partition, or to camouflage it in high-sounding terms of an abstract political philosophy.

He is determined to fight partition and prevent the spread of Zionism which he regards as the last remaining obstacle to the unification of Arabia. "I'm for the Arab League," he declared unequivocally to a British friend. "There must be no barriers between the Arab countries."

Since that late November day in 1947, when partition was recommended in Flushing Meadow, Clayton has travelled from capital to capital in Arabia, fanning opposition to partition and mapping strategy.

He deals with Prime Ministers, Kings, Presidents of Arab republics, desert Sheikhs. In his zeal for Pan Arabia, Clayton frequently overlooks that the spirit he is arousing is often an embarrassment to England. It even now delays the conclusion of a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty; it prevented the ratification of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty; it has turned the Arabs against British trusteeship in the former Italian colonies.

Clayton is a lone wolf. Neither the Foreign Office nor the Colonial Office can be held responsible for his activities. He has his own policy. He has his own agents. He has his own aims. And he has his own solution for the Palestine issue — the liquidation of the whole of Palestine.

This Clayton Plan was incorporated in a top-secret document to which I obtained access a few weeks ago. I have no doubt as to the authenticity of this document, probably the most flagrant example of duplicity even in the Palestine imbroglio. I want to emphasize that it probably does not represent the official policy of His Majesty's Government. They have long lost control over Clayton.

The Clayton Plan was discovered early in March, under circumstances which cannot now be revealed but which for sheer drama read like a sutra from the Arabian Nights. The document bore the signatures of Saleh Jabr, Nuri Pasha, Sayed Mussa al-Alamy, Fadel Jamali of the Arab League and of Clayton.

The document, below, revealed in full for the first time, consists of a preamble, nine articles, and an annex. The preamble reiterates Britain's friendship for the Arab world and renews promises to aid it.

The annex provides for details involved in the execution of the Plan, including supply of arms by Britain and, specifically, the role British-subsidized Transjordan troops are to play in its military implementation.

To objective analysis, the Clayton Plan represents a determined effort to improve Britain's precarious situation. Glubb Pasha, who, with Brigadier Clayton will have to shoulder Britain's Middle Eastern interests when she withdraws her divisions, has described the predicament in this blunt geo-political statement:

"The Middle East is essential for the survival of the British Empire, but it is not essential for any other power. What Panama is to the United States, Egypt is to Britain. What the South American continent is to the United States, the Middle East is to Britain. The Monroe Doctrine doesn't stipulate the political or commercial domination of the United States over the other American republics. It merely lays down that the United States would resist the establishment of any other great power in the Western Hemisphere as a menace to her safety. In the same way, Great Britain doesn't want to dominate the Arabs but to prevent any other power from doing so."

The United Nations recommended partition without taking into consideration Glubb's philosophy and Clayton's determination.

The Secret Clayton Pact

ARTICLE I

The formation of a Jewish state is to be abandoned once and for all.

ARTICLE II

No independent Arab state will be established within Palestine.

ARTICLE III

Palestine will be divided between Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Egypt, with Arabs and Jews in the respective territories acquiring citizenship of the countries to which they are to be annexed.

ARTICLE IV

King Abdullah of Transjordan relinquishes his plan for a Greater Syria.

ARTICLE V

The Arab League will undertake to promote the project as one best calculated to satisfy all interested Arab parties and to guarantee the elimination of Zionism as a continued threat to the unity of the Middle East.

ARTICLE VI

Arab armies will enter Palestine at points to be determined later so as to preclude opportunity for intervention by any international organization.

ARTICLE VII

The Hashomite Kingdom of Transjordan will be extended to the Mediterranean where Britain will be granted bases under long-term treaty arrangements to insure the protection of British interests in the Middle East.

ARTICLE VIII

Britain undertakes to evacuate her troops from Palestine prior to the entry of Arab forces, and to communicate in secret to interested Arab countries the exact date of the evacuation.

ARTICLE IX

Arab countries agree to sign either jointly or individually binding military treaties and alliances with Britain granting British troops the right to enter Arab countries in an emergency.

Foreign minister declares his nation's determination not to become involved in East-West cold war

SWEDEN Won't Choose Sides

BY OESTEN UNDEN

This important article gains added significance if read in conjunction with a declaration of March 18 in which Scandinavia's three Socialist Premiers affirmed their determination "to defend, with all means, the freedom of their countries against any outside aggression." The declaration was widely interpreted as a tacit Scandinavian decision "to side with the West." Foreign Minister Unden's article, on the other hand, reaffirms Sweden's determination to remain aloof from the controversial issues dividing the world.

There is no contradiction between the Stockholm Declaration of March 18 and Foreign Minister Unden's outspoken article. The three Scandinavian Premiers prepared their joint Declaration in their capacities as chiefs of their countries' Social Democratic Parties. It was their intention to commit their parties to resist infiltration by Communists — not to commit their nations to one side or another in the "Battle of the Colossi." Foreign Minister Unden's forthright article is yet another example of that determination that enabled Sweden to remain at peace — for 130 years, a record unsurpassed by any other nation in a position as precarious as hers. In this record is reflected that same statesmanship that characterizes the article which follows.

A debate on foreign affairs took place in the Swedish parliament recently which was both necessary and useful.

The broad outline of Sweden's foreign policy after the war was to a large extent predetermined and rarely challenged. But, during the last few months, a debate has been carried on in the press which might have created the impression that Swedish public opinion is changing.

Much has been written regarding the necessity of "choosing sides" in the controversy between the great powers in the West and East.

Often those who have advocated a new foreign policy failed to state how far they are prepared to go. The discussions have been unclear and generalities have been used permitting different interpretations.

When the Social Democratic government which was formed July 31, 1945, met parliament for the first time, it was eager to clarify its foreign policy. In a declaration of Oct. 22, 1945, the hope was expressed that the world would not witness a political division of states into groups antagonistic to each other.

"However," the declaration went on to say, "should it become obvious that, dispite all efforts, there was a tendency for the great powers of the United Nations Organization to split into two camps, our policy must be not to allow ourselves to be drawn into either group or bloc.

The debate in both chambers proved this policy to be supported by the overwhelming majority in parliament.

It can be questioned whether the present international situation should be described as a division of the great powers into two camps. It cannot be questioned that there is a widespread assumption that this is the case. Evidences of it need not even be specified — pronounced friction which, time after time, has placed the powers against one another, and frequent admissions to the effect that East-West blocs do exist.

We have now arrived at a point which a few years ago we feared as a possibility. The tendency toward

the formation of blocs of the type described is obvious.

The Swedish cabinet found it proper to state in connection with its report on the policy regarding some international questions that it intended to follow the general policy earlier approved by the legislators.

The different parliamentary parties shared, as expected, the views of the cabinet. The press has — as so often happens in Sweden — given a false picture of the situation. That some of those newspapers which had advocated a change in foreign policy opposed the government stand is understandable.

Less understandable were complaints from other sources protesting that such a debate should take place. More frequently the complaint is that foreign policy questions are too rarely discusssed in the Swedish parliament.

The Swedish authorities have thus once again as clearly as possible stated that we are unwilling to allow ourselves to be drawn into a political great-power bloc.

Perhaps it can be said that no foreign government has had any intention of suggesting our joining such a bloc. So much the better. But, considering everything that is being said and the speculations that are being made regarding these questions both in our country and outside, it is well that we have clarified our position even if only to ourselves.

We are of course now and again misunderstood and criticized. Sometimes we are correctly understood but criticized nevertheless. It has been said that we are isolationistic and egotistic; that we turn our backs on collaboration in economic questions; that we have become victims of a ridiculously superstitious belief in neutrality in a future war; that we, fearing the Soviet Union, do not dare to fling ourselves into the arms of the western powers, etc.

Isolationists, in any case, we certainly are not. Sweden has shown her interest in the recovery of the war devastated world in a way which rightly can be compared to the Marshall Plan on a small scale.

Our gifts and credits abroad have been estimated at about 3 billion Swedish crowns. The credits have had the dual purpose of contributing toward recovery and making Swedish exports possible to those countries which otherwise would have been unable to buy from us.

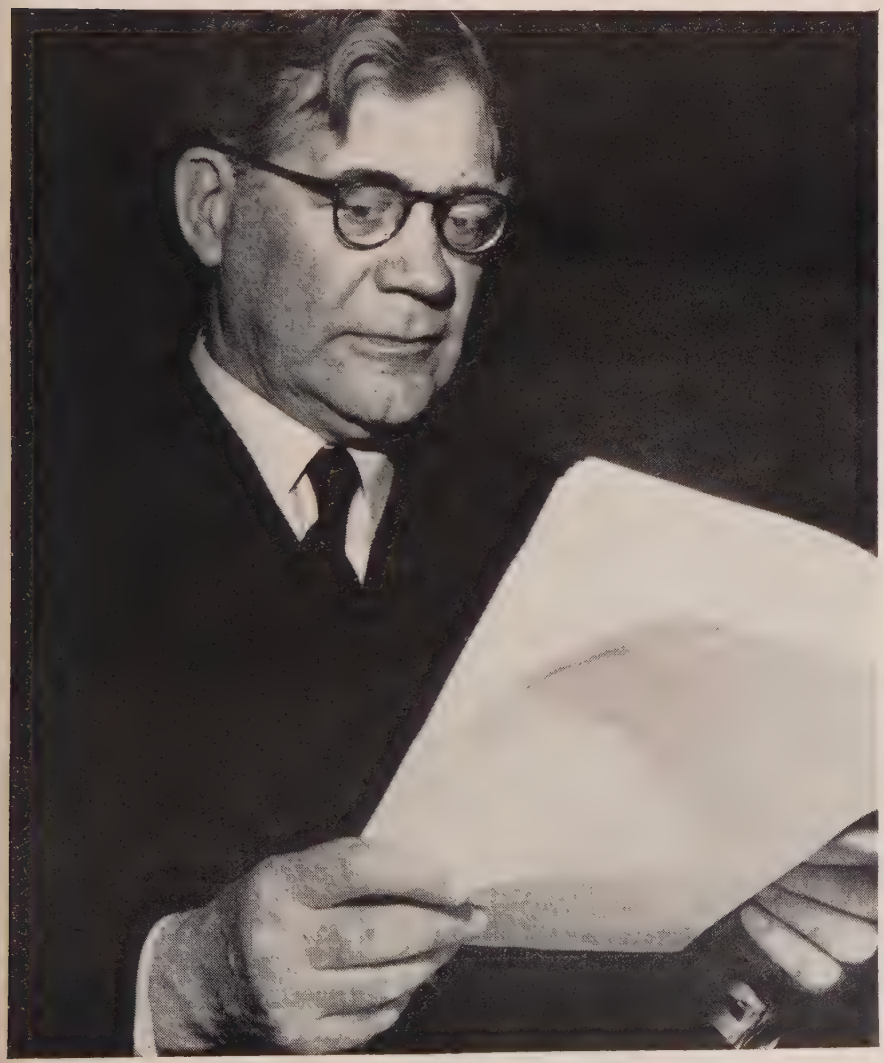
This is a mixture of motives that is natural and sound. Our interest in recovery, and our contributions of different kinds have concerned both western and eastern Europe. We have not isolated ourselves in either direction. Nor have we isolated ourselves from international collaboration in its many forms inside the UN.

Sweden has also approved the Marshall Plan. The Minister of Commerce underlined the importance we accord the International Trade Organization Charter.

Inter-Nordic collaboration is naturally considered by the government as of the utmost importance. Those who impatiently ask why this or that result has not yet been achieved ought to remember that this collaboration can only bear fruit if, as and when, it is supported by a common comprehension of its value. No one of our countries dictates what should be done. Insistent anxiety easily leads to setbacks.

Our program of keeping out of any bloc which would involve political and military engagements is dictated by self-preservation. Should we choose another course we would have to fear that our country would become a storm center in big politics. That would be the least contribution we could make to the promotion of peace. Nor would it be in the interest of any peace-loving nation.

Sweden has, therefore, no desire to join any political and military front in the "cold war." Therefore, no extraordinary explanations of our policy are needed. Our attitude is not dictated by fear but by simple common sense.



THE AUTHOR. FOREIGN MINISTER UNDEN — NO ISOLATIONIST

IN THE RUSSIAN ZONE
there is hunger, fear, no freedom —

IN THE AMERICAN ZONE
there is poverty, terror, intimidation

How it Feels To Be a Korean ... *in Korea*

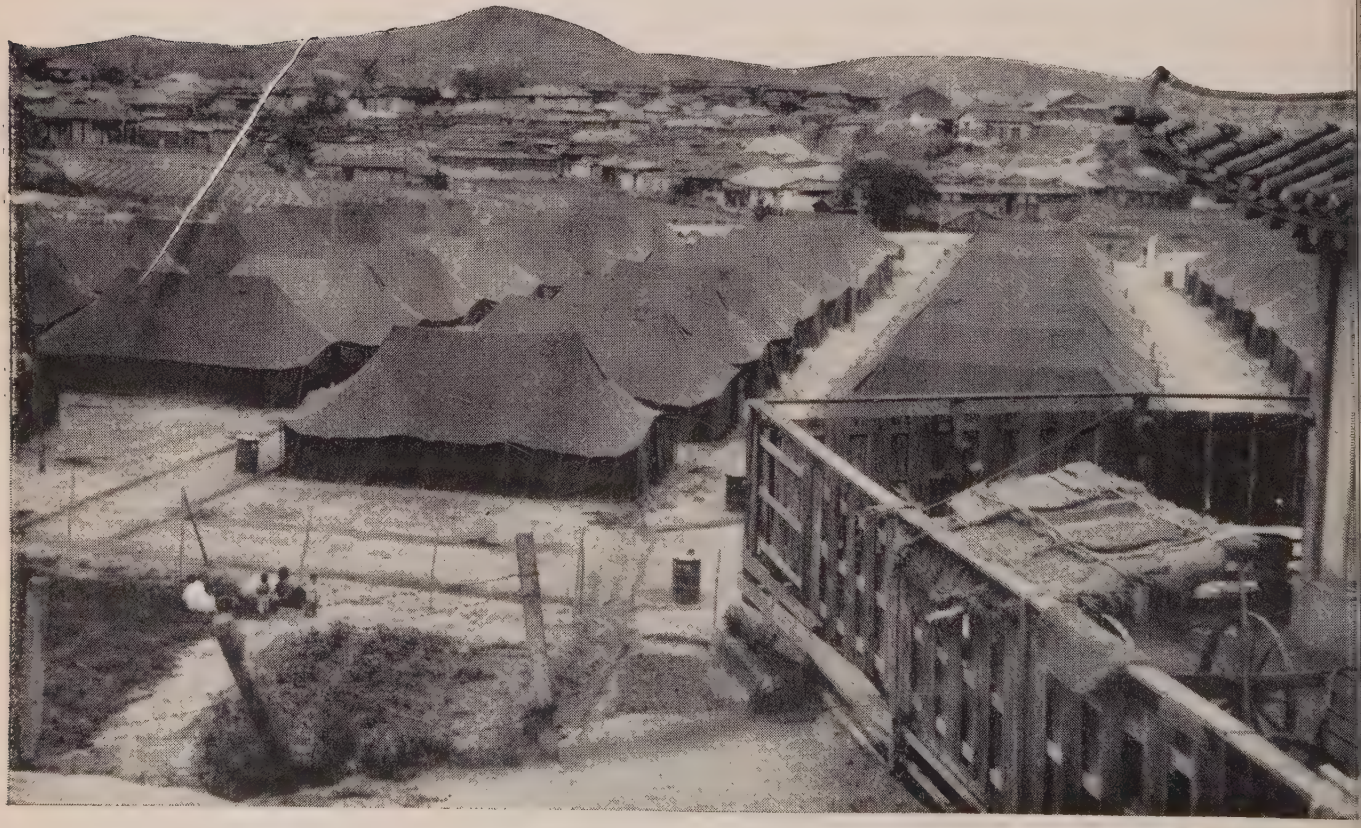
BY YOUNGHILL KANG
American author, lecturer, educator

North of the 38th parallel in Korea all power rests in the hands of the Russian Military Government and the Korean Communist Party. South of the 38th parallel, Koreans are ruled under the United States Military Government in Korea by certain Korean officials operating a provisional government.

In the Russian zone there is no freedom, little food, high taxes, fear. It is very bad. In the American zone it is at least as bad. Southern Koreans are imprisoned, tortured and impoverished by their government.

For more than a year and a half I lived in Korea as an American among Military-Government Americans. But the Koreans, of all political shades, treated me as a Korean. From them I learned much that they would have been ashamed or afraid to tell others.

One must not wholly blame USAMGIK for the terror and grafting that exist in South Korea. The responsibility lies, first, with a few cynical political leaders who have betrayed both their people and the American Army. The second share of responsibility I place on American missionaries who, brought back to advise the Army, unwisely chose reactionaries



KOREAN DP CAMP. Damp tents, muddy streets a sanitary system consisting of old oil drums — in the background a mountain ridge beyond which lies home. Koreans who have fled the Russians here hopefully wait the occupation's end.

for positions of power. Many of the missionary-chosen men collaborated profitably with the Japanese and are now growing richer by "collaborating" with the Americans. Behind all other responsibility lies that of the U. S. State Department whose duty is to make policy for the Military Government.

Nonetheless, the Army remains the American agency on the ground which *could* correct the evils of the provisional regime. It has not done so because, in establishing the Korean government, it promised to keep hands off domestic affairs. It now quixotically contends that its hand are tied by that unwise promise.

Scant Rations, Scarce Roofs

No Korean is well-fed, except the politician and the racketeer. Both north and south of the 38th parallel, Koreans are constantly aware of the stomach pain of hunger. In the mountainous Russian zone are only some 9 million inhabitants. They have virtually all the minerals, the electric power, the industries and much of the best fishing grounds of the country, but the line at 38 prevents their trading their nonedible surpluses for food from the richer lowlands of the American zone.

Koreans cross the line at 38 merely by climbing afoot over mountain trails. In consequence, even in Seoul, (where MG headquarters were) I often talked with persons from the North. Some were undoubtedly Communist couriers or agitators; some were anti-Russian refugees; some were former collaborators of the Japanese. Others were of varying politics.

All agreed that rice, the staple food of Koreans, was scarce in the North. Millet, introduced from Manchuria, has not replaced it. Of meat there is almost none, but of fish, particularly dried Alaskan pollack, there is a normal supply. "Normal" means, however, enough to garnish Korea's rice, not enough to sustain a third of its population. The best of all the North's food is eaten by Russian occupation troops "living off the land."

In the South the Americans subsist entirely on food imported by MG. No Korean rice, no eggs, fish or wine, not even "Korean" water (that is to say, untreated water) is supposed to pass the lips of a single GI in Korea.

Even so, Southern Korea cannot feed — or house — the 20 million-plus that make up its present population. Under rationing regulations, a Korean in Seoul is entitled to buy 2.2 *hop* (13 ounces) of rice a day at a reasonable price. Actually, an urban family is fortunate if it obtains one *marl* (slightly more than one half bushel) of rationed rice a year. Most of the rice goes into the black market.

This year the supply of rice, even on the black market, is by now all but exhausted. Millions of Koreans will be "eating grass" before the September rice harvest.

In the North those who are members of or supporters of the Communist Party will live relatively well. In the South partisans of the provisional regime will prosper.

But extreme leftists and extreme rightists are both minorities. The hungry ones, all the rest, are the honest, hopeful patriots who expected independence and freedom and who have been disappointed by their liberators.

Virtually all the rightists and most of the middle-roaders are in the Southern zone, but not all the Communists are in the North. Many of them are in the South where, denied the right to propagandize openly, they have gone underground. The real tragedy in the South is that the middle-roaders have been driven underground with the Communists.

I know of many men whose only crime has been criticism of the grafting, dictatorial government who have been denounced as Communists, imprisoned and tortured — or simply assassinated. I know others still alive who never sleep two nights consecutively in the same bed.

Among such harried men the Communists are certainly making headway, but they will not win the May election in South Korea — by any chance. They could not win it, I am sure, even if the voting were really free. And even the UN commission sponsoring the election has realized that the government's intimidation makes a free election unlikely.

The men who stand to lose most in an honest election are the political bigwigs of the regime and their friends who have accumulated great wealth under USAMGIK.

No Korean, for instance, may legally own more than one house in Seoul. But I investigated one high official who has bought twelve mansions since V-J Day. Each of them is held under a different name.

Another, higher, political leader, has "saved" millions of dollars (Korean) since his elevation to power.

A friend of his, a businessman, recently made a fortune by merchandising a large stock of very short consumer items abandoned in Korea by the Japanese Army. This man paid $1 (Korean — before the war worth $.25 U. S.) for each of the items and sold them like hotcakes for $12,000 (K) each. Others in the good graces

REFUGEE HOUSING. These close-huddled tile roofs are the best Seoul can offer its new influx of residents from Japan, the Pacific and the North.

of the regime make similar profits.

In the North the range between rich and poor is not great. But there, too, acquiescence in the policies of the dominant political group is the only way to prosper.

The Earth and Its Fruits

Korea has only about 4 million acres of rice land; one third of its total farm acreage. In 1937 its farms supported 1,710,000 cattle, 1,620,000 pigs and 7,270,000 poultry. Since time immemorial — the records go back a thousand years — Korean farmers have worked their fields with just their hands. Rich farmers employed families of helpers, frequently clan relatives, neighbors in the same village.

The Japanese upset this family-farm pattern. Great tracts were acquired by the conquerors and collaborators, and former owners were reduced to peonage. In the South, where holdings are still large, the soil has been overcropped and will not soon be restored for lack of chemical fertilizer from the North. In 1947 the summer grain crop was 40 per cent under the norm. This year's harvest will probably be no better. America gave Southern Korea 50,000 tons of food last year and, without fertilizer, need for imports will continue.

I cannot tell for absolutely certain what an abundance of chemical fertilizer has done for crops in the North. Nor can I exactly estimate the effect of the Communists' land reform, distributing some 2½ million acres among previously landless farmers.

Dispossed landowners, now in the South, angrily say that their old farms are rundown and less productive. They say that their former employees lack initiative and know-how, that they sit idle in the sun by day and drink wine by night instead of tilling their fields.

One can, I think, discount such talk. Yet one must not assume that ownership of a few acres has automatically converted impoverished peons into productive farmers.

It is the great disappointment of farmers in the South that most Japanese estates have not been broken up. These represent 12.5 per cent of all the best lands, but they are "enemy property" under MG control, rented out to the same dispossessed families who farmed them for the Japanese.

Only the terms have changed. The Japanese took 50 per cent of all the farmer grew as rent. MG takes no more than 40 per cent and no other landlord may charge more.

In Korea all farm rent and taxes are paid in kind. The new Northern "free holder" pays no rent but is taxed 25 per cent of his produce by the State. However, this direct tax is not the only one, and other special levies sometimes run the total up to 50 per cent, just as under the Japanese. In individual cases the total of all levies has reached 70 per cent.

There is a saying in Seoul that if you had been imprisoned under the Japanese, the Russians put you on the police force; if you had been a policeman under the Japanese, the Americans *kept* you on the force.

This cannot be exactly true because, in July, 1947, there were 28,852 Korean police in South Korea alone. Under the Japanese at no time were there more than 8,000 Korean and 12,000 Japanese police in all Korea.

Police Wands and Water

There is no doubt, however, that Japanese-trained veterans set the pattern for all South Korean police. Brutal Japanese "thought control" methods are favored. The police attitude is, "If you are not with us you are against us." Consequently, any decent person — journalist, educator, poet, novelist, artist, artisan or farmer — who criticizes the regime is likely to be dragged from his bed at night. Between September, 1946, and July, 1947, South Korean police arrested 113,447 persons of whom 96,670 were convicted.

Once arrested there is little chance of an honest, speedy trial. The victim is already damned as a Communist and enemy of the State. To "prove" their case the police set about wringing a "confession" from him.

The "water treatment" is commonly given by trussing the prisoner and hanging him by his heels. Teapots of water are then poured into his nostrils. This refinement of cruelty produces emotions of rage, frustration and terror and, eventually, unconsciousness. Only a man of strong soul can resist admitting whatever the police desire.

The "bamboo treatment" is also employed to encourage confessions. It is applied before, during and after the water, whenever the spirit moves. Bamboo wands less than an inch in diameter make vicious whips. Korean police do not hesitate also to kick prisoners with their heavy boots or strike them repeatedly with their fists.

In Korean offices and businesses the workers greet each other far too often with the whisper, "Did you hear about So-and-So? *He* was picked up last night."

Many an honest man who is picked up is never seen again. Some whose cases are brought to the attention of right-minded MG officers, are "sprung" as unofficially as they had been arrested. I know men to whom this has happened. I have seen the physical wrecks that a few weeks of "police interrogation" has made of them. Some never recover. Many, no doubt, die in prison.

Working hand in glove with the police are gangsters, bands of young hoodlums called Young Men's Group for Korea, Independence Youth and similar names. So far only one of these, Taihan Min Chung or Great Korean Democratic Young Men's Association, has been dissolved by MG for its "acts of violence, intimidation, terrorism and gansterism."

Though the names of these organizations all sound harmless enough, actually they are gangs as vicious as any prohibition-born American mob. What makes them doubly dangerous is that they operate with the approval and connivance of the police and the party regime.

Like the Black Shirts of Italy and Hitler's Brown shirts, they practice kidnapping, torture and murder at which they are eager aids of the police.

Even the most careful and law-abiding of businessmen fear and pay monthly tribute to these gangs, knowing that if they don't their places of business may be wrecked.

There is even a Women's Patriotic Society of female hoodlums who intimidate and abuse members of their sex adjudged guilty of liberal or leftist leanings. Lipstick is leftist leaning in Korea. I know a girl who worked for MG who was brutally maltreated by members of this society apparently for no other reason than that she worked for the American and rode in a jeep.

Money, Money Everywhere

The last vicious act of the Japanese before they left Korea in the fall of 1945 was to print millions of dollars worth of currency which they spent in one last long binge. When they finally left, Korean currency in circulation had been increased by

approximately $19,400,000,000 (K).

There had been inflation in Korea during the war but it was as nothing to what happened after. In August, 1945, before VJ Day rice had sold for $9 (K) a *marl*. In September USAMGIK set a ceiling price of $37 (K) a *marl*. It was too little, too late. When I arrived in Seoul in the summer of 1946, the price was $700 on the black market. When I left the price was $900, but still $37 officially.

It is quite obvious that very little rice reaches the market through official channels. It is common knowledge in Korea that government employees from highest almost to lowest divert rice from government stores to black market men.

The pay of even white-collar government employees is currently inflated to $2,500 (K) a month. But a family of five, two adults and three children, will eat more than seven *marl* of rice a month when they can get it. Even on half rations, their rice bill alone today costs nearly $2,500 a month, leaving little for vegetables, fish, millet, fuel, rent and so on.

To say nothing of clothing. Top political influence and much money are needed to dress well. An American I know was offered $12,000 (K) for his worn woolen sports jacket. An overcoat brings $50,000 (K). Except for farmers who still weave their own cloth, tan their own leather, cobble their own shoes, almost all Koreans are frayed and tattered today.

Even new clothes are shoddy. A friend of mine paid $3,000 (K) for a pair of shoes. A few days later I noticed one of them was split across the upper and tied around the instep with string. I asked what had happened. He shrugged and told me he had kicked a football — just one kick.

I know a Korean who worked for a civilian in MG. His employer on leaving cleared out his desk and tossed into the waste basket a few books of matches, some crumpled typewriter paper, some partly used sheets of carbon, two pairs of worn-beyond-mending-socks — such oddments as no American would think of saving. The Korean salvaged the rubbish and sold every bit for a total of $3,700 (K).

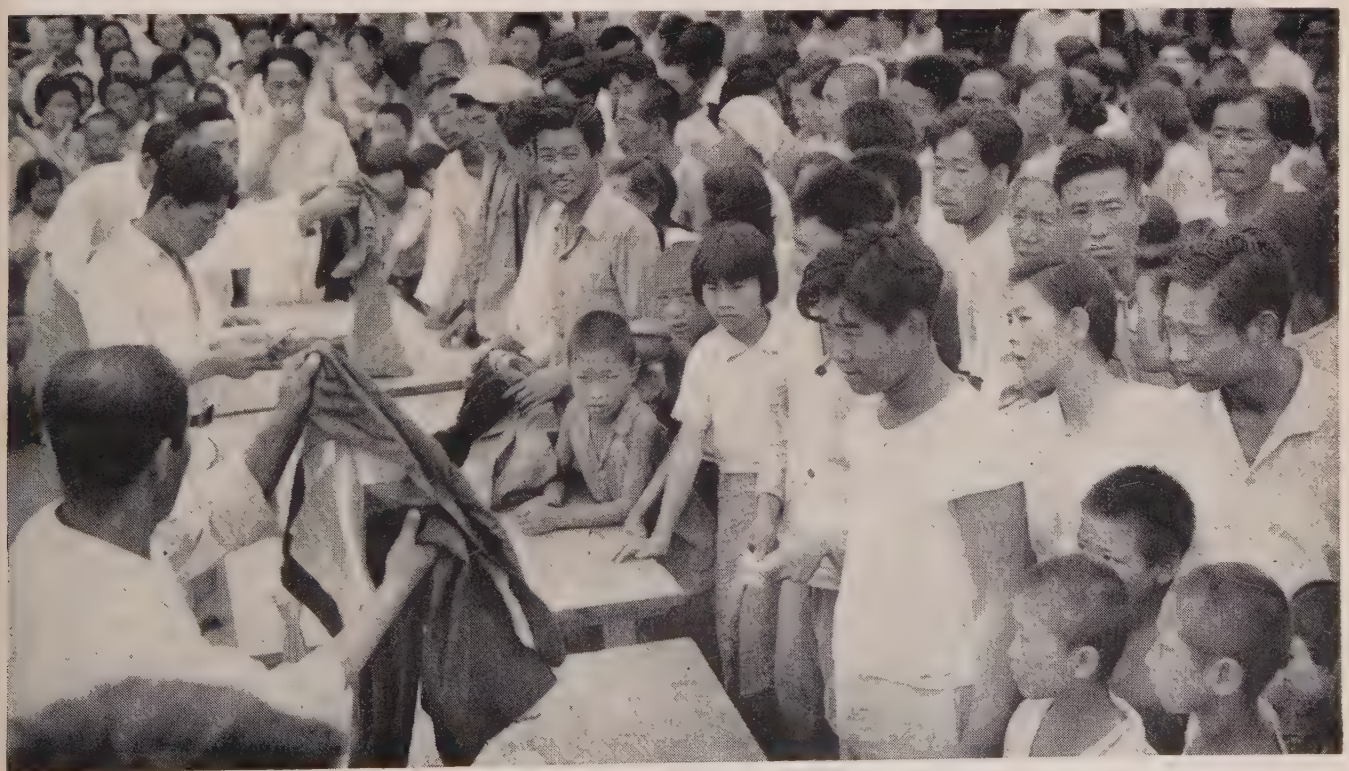
The real currency in Korea is the American cigaret. The PX price of cigarets was 90 cents a carton when I left. For a carton of cigarets one could — and did — hire a chauffeur for a month. In cash his wage would be $1,400 (K).

A bowl of noodle soup that cost before the war 5 to 10 cents (K) today costs $100 to $200 (K). A 10-cent (U. S.) bar of soap from the PX can be sold for $100 to $150 (K). One never sees $5 and $10 (K) bills. Nothing can be bought so cheap.

All this is in the South. In the North the Communists last November called in all currency, exchanging it for new on the basis of one new dollar for 1,000 old. But even before devaluation, inflation had not been so bad in the North as in the South. For instance, after the 1947 harvest when rice was selling at $900 (K) a *marl* below 38, it was only $700 a *marl* above the line.

It was curious, but I knew it to be a fact, that smugglers would buy rice at $900, transport it across the mountains into the North and sell it at $200 less there. What made this smuggling operation profitable was that the smuggler could then buy for $700 in the North dried Alaskan pollack, paper, fertilizer or other goods which he could resell in the South for perhaps $2,000.

If the reactionary politicians do not ruin South Korea, inflation almost surely will. Certainly if an honest secret election could be held in South Korea today, the party in power would lose, but the victor would have the difficult task of reviving a people and an economy that have been all but starved by being fed on money, all but deathly poisoned with graft, corruption and terror.

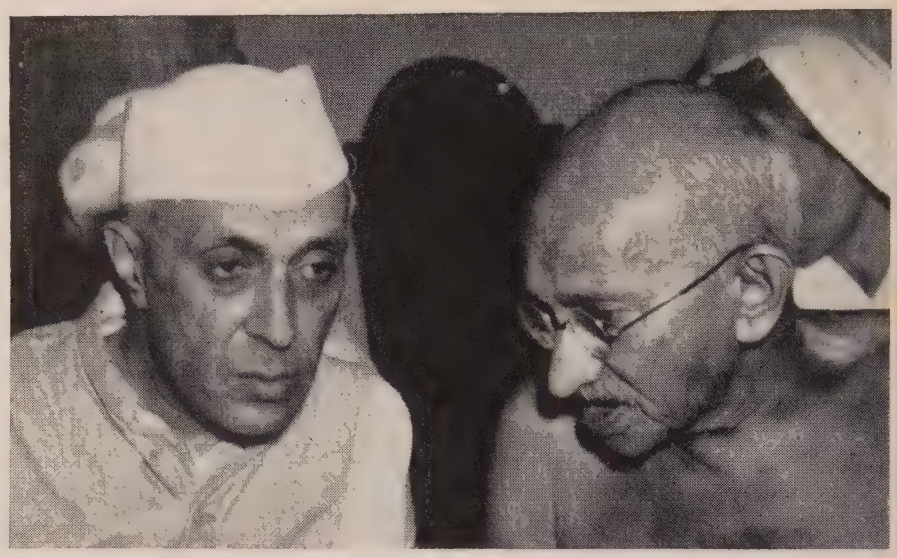


NOT FOR SALE. Korean refugees mob a relief station where clothes, contributed abroad, are given away. In the front row one man grins at his fortune, another watches hopefully, while a boy beside him fondles useless paper money.

The Immersion of the Ashes

BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Prime Minister of India

The words that follow were spoken to the largest audience ever directly addressed by any man. They were delivered to more than a million Indians attending the final rites for Mahatma Gandi. After his ashes were strewn on the Ganges, his disciple, Nehru, spoke extemporaneously in Hindustani. The address is recognized as one of the great orations of the age. From his notes, Nehru afterwards wrote it down and it appears exclusively in United Nations World. With other major speeches and statements it will be published in book form by The John Day Company, under the title *Nehru on Gandhi.*



NEHRU WAS GANDHI'S DISCIPLE AND HIS INIMATE FRIEND.

The last journey has ended. The final pilgrimage has been made. For over 50 years Mahatma Gandhi wandered about all over our great country, from the Himalayas and the North Western Frontier and the Brahmaputra in the North East to Kenya Kumari (Cape Comorin) in the far South. He visited every part and corner of this country, not as a mere tourist or visitor for the sake of amusement, but in order to understand and serve the Indian people. Perhaps no other Indian in history has travelled about so much in India or got to know the common people so well and served them so abundantly.

And now his journey in this world is over, though we have still to continue for a while.

Many people are moved to grief, and this is proper and natural. But why should we grieve? Do we grieve for him or for something else? In his life as in his death there has been a radiance which will illumine our country for ages to come.

Why then should we grieve for him? Let us grieve rather for ourselves, for our own weaknesses, for the illwill in our hearts, for our dissensions and for our conflicts. Remember that it was to remove all these that Mahatmaji gave his life. Remember that during the past few months it was on this that he concentrated his vast energy and service. If we honor him, do we honor his name only or do we honor what he stood for, his advice and teachings, and more specially what he died for?

Let us, standing here on the banks of the Ganges, search our own hearts and ask ourselves the question: How far have we followed the path shown to us by Gandhiji and how far have we tried to live in peace and cooperation with others? If even now we follow the right path, it will be well with us and well with our country.

Our country gave birth to a mighty one and he shone like a beacon not only for India but for the whole world. And yet he was done to death by one of our own brothers and compatriots. How did this happen? You might think that it was an act of madness, but that does not explain this tragedy.

It could only occur because the seed for it was sown in the poison of hatred and enmity that spread throughout the country and affected so many of our people. Out of that seed grew this poisonous plant. It is the duty of all of us to fight this poison of hatred and illwill. If we have learned anything from Gandhiji, we must bear no illwill or enmity towards any person.

The individual is not our enemy. It is the poison within him that we fight and which we must put an end to. We are weak and feeble, but Gandhiji's strength passed to us also to some extent. In his reflected glory we also gained in stature. The splendor and the strength were his and the path he showed was also his. We stumbled often enough and fell down in our attempts to follow that path and serve our people as he wanted us to serve them.

Our pillar of strength is no more. But why do we say that? His image is enshrined in the hearts of the million men and women who are present here today, and hundreds of millions of our countrymen, who are not present here, will also never forget him. Future generations of our people, who have not seen him or heard him, will also have that image in their hearts because that image is now a part of India's inheritance and history.

Thirty or 40 years ago began in India what is called the Gandhi Age. It has come to an end today. And yet I am wrong, for it has not ended. Perhaps it has really begun now, although somewhat differently. Thus far we have been leaning on him for advice and support, from now onwards we have to stand on our own feet and to rely on ourselves.

May his memory inspire us and his teachings light our path. Remember his ever-recurring message: "Root out fear from your hearts and malice, put an end to violence and internecine conflict, keep your country free."

He brought us to freedom and the world marvelled at the way he did it. But at the very moment of gaining our freedom we forgot the lesson of the Master. A wave of frenzy and fanaticism overtook our people and we disgraced the fair name of India. Many of our youth were misled and took to wrong paths. Are we to drive them away and crush them? They are our own people and we have to win them over and mold them and train them to right thought and action.

The communal poison, which has brought disaster upon us, will put an end to our freedom also if we are not vigilant and if we do not take action in time. It was to awaken us to this impending danger that Gandhiji undertook his last fast two or three weeks ago. His self-crucifixion roused the nation's conscience and we pledged before him to behave better. It was only then that he broke his fast.

Gandhiji used to observe silence for one day in every week. Now that voice is silenced forever and there is unending silence. And yet that voice resounds in our ears and in our hearts. and it will resound in the minds and hearts of our people, and even beyond the borders of India, in the long ages to come.

For that voice is the voice of truth, and though truth may occasionally be suppressed it can never be put down. Violence for him was the opposite of truth and therefore he preached to us against violence not only of the hand but of the mind and heart.

If we do not give up this internecine violence and have the utmost forbearance and friendliness to others. we are doomed as a nation. The path of violence is perilous and freedom seldom exists for long where there is violence. Our talk of Swarajya and the people's freedom is meaningless, if we have internal violence and conflict.

I see large numbers of soldiers of the Indian Army in this audience. It is their proud privilege and duty to defend the integrity and honor of this country of ours. They can only do so if they stand together and function together. If they fell out among themselves, what would their strength be worth and how could they then serve their country?

Democracy demands discipline, tolerance and mutual regard. Freedom demands respect for the freedom of others. In a democracy changes are made by mutual discussion and persuasion and not by violent means. If a Government has not got popular support, another government takes its place which commands that popular support.

It is only small groups, who know that they cannot get sufficient popular support, that resort to methods of violence, imagining in their folly that they can gain their ends in this way. This is not only utterly wrong but it is also utterly foolish. For the reaction to the violence of the minority, which seeks to coerce the majority, is to provoke the majority into violence against them.

This great tragedy has happened because many persons, including some in high places, have poisoned the atmosphere of this country of ours. It is the duty of the government as well as the people to root out this poison. We have had our lesson at a terrible cost. Is there anyone among us now who will not pledge himself after Gandhiji's death to fulfill his mission — a mission for which the greatest man of our country, the greatest man in the world, has laid down his life?

You and I and all of us will go back from these sands of our noble river, the Ganges. We shall feel sad and lonely. We shall never see Gandhiji again. We used to run to him for advice and guidance whenever we were confronted with any great problem or when we felt ill at ease or in doubt. There is none to advise us now or to share our burdens.

It is not I alone or a few of us who looked up to him for help. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of our countrymen considered him as their intimate friend and counsellor. All of us felt as if we were his children. Rightly he was called the Father of our Nation and in millions of homes today there is mourning as on the passing away of a beloved father.

We shall go away from this river bank sad and lonely. But we shall also think with pride of the high and unique privilege that has been ours to have had for our chief and leader and friend this mighty person, who carried us to great heights on the way to freedom and truth. And the way of struggle that he taught us was also the way of truth. Remember also that the path he showed us was one of fighting for the good and against evil and not the way of sitting quietly on the peaks of the Himalayas.

And so we have to fight on and not seek escape or rest. We have to do our duty and fulfile the pledges we have given him. Let us tread the path of truth and dharma. Let us make India a great country in which goodwill and harmony prevail and every man and woman, irrespective of faith and belief, can live in dignity and freedom.

How often we have shouted "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai." By shouting this slogan we thought we had done our duty. Gandhiji always felt pained to hear this shouting, for he knew how little it meant and how often it just took the place of action or even of thought.

"Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" — "Victory to Mahatma Gandhi," what victory could we wish him or give him? He was the Victorious One in life and in death. It is you and I and this unfortunate country that has to struggle for victory.

Throughout his life he thought of India in terms of the poor and the oppressed and the downtrodden. To raise them and free them was the mission of his life. He adopted their ways of life and dress so that none in the country may feel lowly. Victory to him was the growth of freedom of these people.

What kind of triumph did Gandhiji wish for us?

Not the triumph for which most people and countries strive through violence, fraud, treachery and evil means. That kind of victory is not stable. For the foundations of a lasting victory can only be laid on the rock of truth.

Gandhiji gave us a new method of struggle and political warfare and a new kind of diplomacy. He demonstrated the efficacy of truth and goodwill and non-violence in politics. He taught us to respect and cooperate with every Indian as a man and as a fellow-citizen, irrespective of his political belief or religious creed.

We all belong to Mother India and have to live and die here. We all are equal partners in the freedom that we have won. Everyone of our three or four hundred million people must have an equal right to the opportunities and blessings that free India has to offer.

It was not a few privileged persons that Gandhiji strove for and died for. We have to strive for the same ideal and in the same way. Then only shall we be worthy to say "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai."

SOME EXPERIMENTAL, SOCIALLY CONSCIOUS AMERICAN PAINTING MAY BE 'COMMUNIST' — BUT THE RUSSIANS DON'T KNOW IT

The temptation to carry the cold war beyond politics and into the fields of art has overcome both protagonists. Russian musicians, novelists and painters have been cited for errors described as decadent and bourgeois and in conflict with the aspirations of the people. American writers and painters have felt the same sort of smear-criticism.

Is there such a thing as "Communist" art or "Capitalist" art? — or is the use of political labels in art criticism a low semantic trick designed to rouse rabid emotions?

On these two pages is evidence which will help the reader to make this decision for himself. The American paintings come from a State Department collection bought with $43,000 of taxpayers' money and roundly condemned by some critics in such terms as: "Junk" . . . "[The collection's roots] are not in America but in the alien cultures . . . of Europe" . . . "Eight of the artists represented . . . are members of . . . a Communist-controlled organization" . . . "Definitely leftish."

The Russian paintings, also paid for with taxpayers' money, are obviously properly Communist. Copies of Russian paintings, disapproved as decadent, seem not to be available outside Russia.

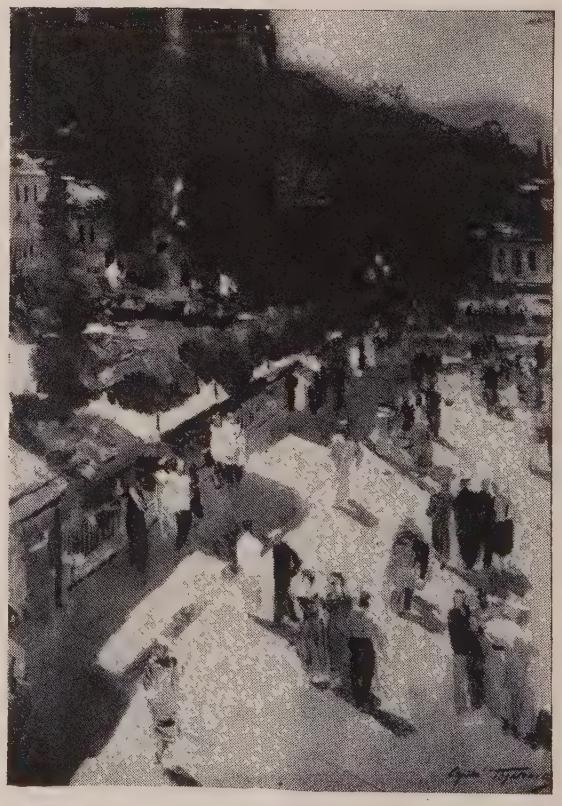
One conclusion seems inescapable: Political labels, whether commendatory or smearing, don't make sense.

Just What Is Communistic Painting?

IS IT THIS . . .

THE NEWSPAPER *by Gregorio Prestopino* recreates a street scene through modern use of strong lines, heavy masses and unconventional perspective. An American painting.

OR THIS



KISLOVODSK *by Sergei Gerasimov* depicts in romantic style utilizing splotches of color (a trick the French Impressionists popularized a half century ago) another busy street. Russian.

AMERICAN

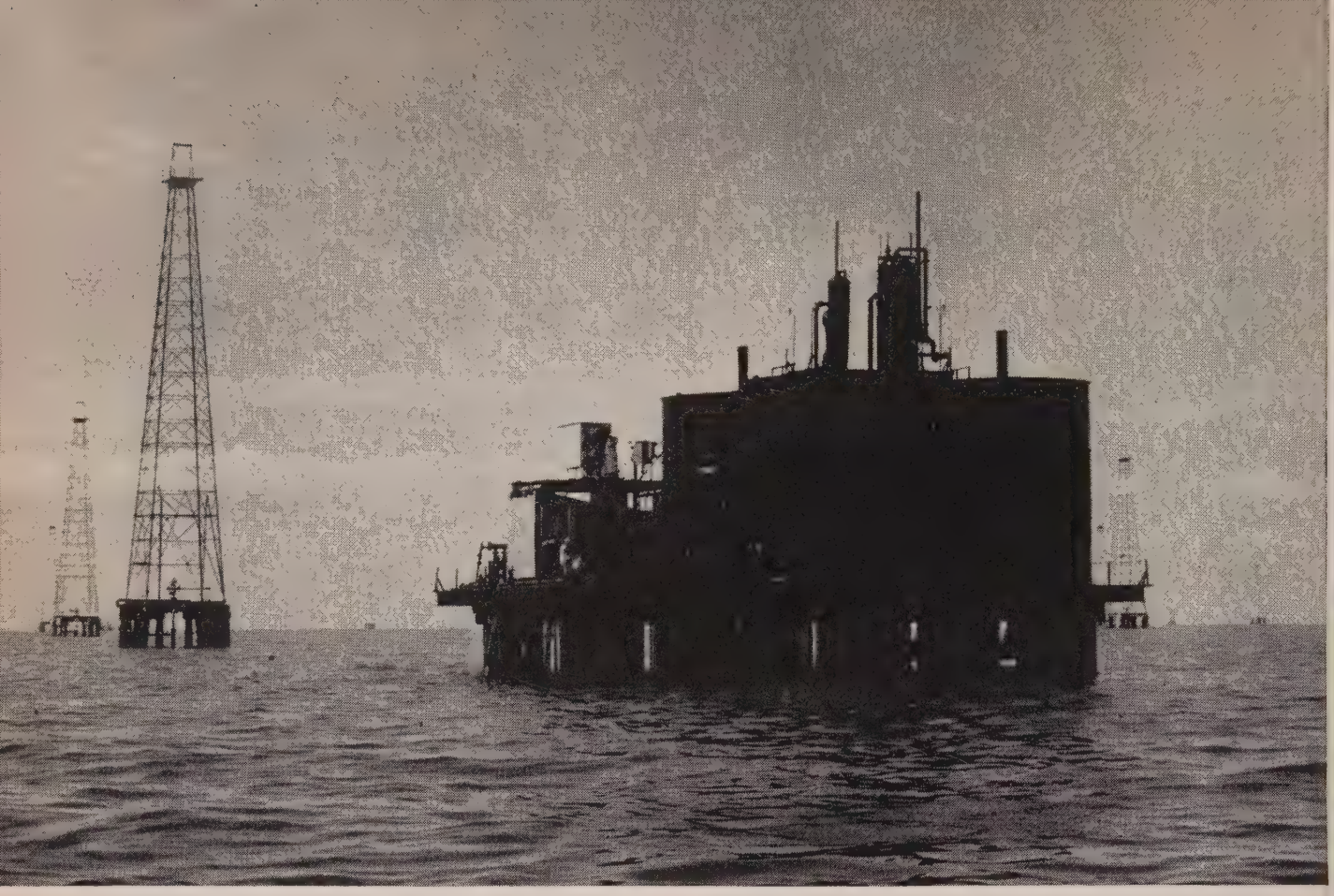
HUNGER *by Ben Shahn* has a stark, arresting quality heightened by distorted perspective and symbolic emphasis on the shadowed eyes and outstretched begging hand.

WORK SONG *by Robert Gwathmey* is a composition of three figures that omits all background and stresses harsh angles and boney limbs to create a grimly proletarian mood.

RUSSIAN

ZOYA *by I. Y. Timoshenko* gets emphasis by the size of the main figure but otherwise goes in for simple realism such as the soldier and shawled woman behind and below the central figure.

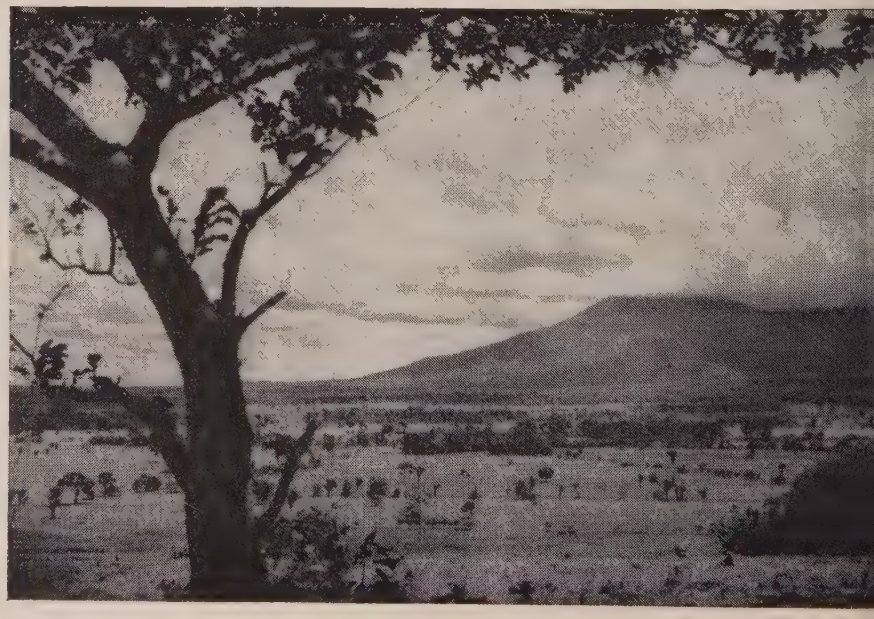
THE SON IS BACK *by M. Abegyan* places three figures in a serene rural setting, carefully detailed; in subject and appeal it is traditionally bourgeois, almost Biblical.



VENEZUELA'S BLACK LIFEBLOOD FLOWS FROM THESE OIL WELLS IN LAKE MARACAIBO.

Venezuela: Too Much

Undreamed-of oil wealth
from its rich oilfields
has ruined its farm lands,
blighted its industries
and left it hungry for goods



ABANDONED. The prairies once supported great herds, bore rich crops. Here, in mile
one cannot see a dwelling — the farmers are in the oilfields, their fields are overgrow

BY A. RONALD SCHILLER

You can buy orchids on the streets of Caracas, Venezuela, for the change in your pockets. Gold, diamonds and pearls sell for the price of imitations in New York. Top grade gasoline costs nine cents a gallon.

But these are the only bargains to be found in Venezuela. Everything else is so expensive that even visitors from the United States — hardened to high prices — sputter angrily. Candy bars cost one *bolívar* (30 cents in U. S. currency), U. S. cigarettes sell for twice as much. A bottle of ketchup costs over a dollar (U. S.), a cheap pair of men's shoes $20. Although *norteamericanos* sent to Venezuela are paid "cost of living" bonuses of as much as 100 per cent, they are forever quitting or pleading to be sent elsewhere. They claim they cannot afford to stay.

Inflation in Venezuela is not a postwar phenomenon. Prices there have actually risen less in percentage points since 1938 than in the United States, and only a fraction as much as in neighboring Latin American countries. Fact is, that prices have been high in Venezuela for decades.

Money

Eggs have been $1 a dozen for approximately 20 years.

Venezuela's trouble is not a worthless currency. Its money is actually worth more than the official exchange rate. The price of the *bolívar* is controlled, not to keep its value up, but to keep it down! Left alone, it would probably rise 25 to 50 per cent in relation to the dollar, driving many of the country's industries to the wall.

With money plentiful and goods scarce, importers and producers charge what the traffic will bear. Mark-ups of from 50 to 200 per cent are the rule. Venezuela is in the throes of a "hard-cash inflation" similar to that which existed in California in the days of the gold rush when scarce eggs sold for $25 apiece in gold dust.

The cause of this inflation is, of course, oil. Next to the United States, Venezuela is the world's largest producer. In 1947 her wells spewed forth 434,500,000 barrels of crude oil, almost one and a quarter million barrels a day.

While this was only one-quarter of U. S. production it is much more (see page 10) than the output of Arabia and the Near East put together. The Western war was largely fought and won with Venezuelan petroleum.

During the war, production doubled, 400 tankers a day cleared out of the oil port of Maracaibo alone. Now, nearly three years after the war's end, new fields are still being opened so fast that some oil men are betting Venezuelan production will surpass that of the U. S. in another decade.

Venezuela's oil wells, out of rocket-range in any likely future conflict, are even more vital today than they were a few years ago. Though all petroleum deposits belong to the nation, production is in the hands of U. S., British, and Dutch licensees. Creole Petroleum, a Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiary, produces 60 per cent of all Venezuelan oil. Mene Grande, of the Royal Dutch Shell group, 25 per cent. The rest is divided among smaller U. S. and British companies.

Oil constitutes over 90 per cent of Venezuela's exports. Oil provides over 60 per cent of her national income. The oil companies alone pay the government an annual revenue of more than $180,000,000.

Riding the crest of this tidal wave of petroleum — the industry is only 25 years old — Venezuela enjoys unparalleled money prosperity. There is no unemployment.

Caracas, the capital, is a boom town. The city of 300,000, cradled in a cool mountain valley, has burst its bounds. It is pouring down the valley and climbing its walls. Perversely the fine homes are built in the valley, the slums on the hill sides. The clatter of big new construction, office buildings, apartment houses and public works, make the city a bedlam by day and, under arc lights, keep it awake all night.

Caracas traffic jams must be the world's worst. The city has more new cars than I have ever seen in one place before. Truck farmers drive to market in Fords that sell for $8,000. Race tracks, bull rings and *beisbol* parks are jampacked. Six airlines, their waiting lists full, carry flush caraqueños to the United States, Argentina, Colombia and Cuba.

There is no restriction on export of gold or dollars. The national debt is miniscule. Taxes, except on oil, are low or non-existent. State lotteries are maintained because — one is told — Venezuelans like to take a chance.

But riding tidal waves of petroleum or anything else is hazardous business. The country's economy, already alist, is in danger of capsizing completely.

On Venezuela's coat of arms, adopted in the days of Bolívar, The Liberator, are three symbols: massed banners, representing the army; a shock of wheat, symbolizing agriculture; a running horse, depicting Venezuela's export industry, horses and cattle from the vast ranches of her Orinocan plains — the *llanos*.

The army is still important, but the other two symbols are almost meaningless. Wheat is now grown almost nowhere but on the government's experimental farms and the *llanos* are nearly as devoid of men and animals as they were before the Spaniards came. Venezuela's wheat and meat now come from Argentina and Chicago.

Venezuela could produce in great abundance potatoes and other vegetables, cotton, citrus fruits, rubber, tobacco, apples, pineapples, sugar cane, bananas, sisal. This tremendous versatility is due to varied topography, which ranges from tropical lowlands to Andean snows.

"I defy you, *señor*," a professor of agronomy challenged me, "to name anything on earth, except arctic moss, that cannot be grown in Venezuela!" Yet he could not name a single agricultural product, except coffee and cocoa, in which Venezuela is self-sufficient.

Venezuela's 1,750-mile sea coast borders the richest fishing grounds of the hemisphere, yet fresh fish occupies a smaller place in the nation's diet than canned salmon and tuna from abroad.

Mahogany and other fine furniture woods are so abundant that pigstys and packing boxes are made of them. Yet Venezuela imports inferior soft woods at high prices for the bulk of her construction.

Large deposits of copper, coal, salt, iron, tin, asbestos and mica, mapped and ready for the pick, are undug.

Perhaps the most impressive comment on Venezuela's topsy-turvy economy is a plaintive official report which notes that claims in the rich gold and diamond fields are going begging.

For, despite its incalculable store of unexploited natural wealth, Venezuela lacks the one commodity without which the rest have little value. That commodity is labor. Venezuela's 4 million people rattle around a territory of 352,143 square miles — greater than Texas and Oklahoma combined.

Texas is not crowded, yet it has a population density of 33.7 per square mile as compared to Venezuela's 10.9. Venezuela could support 25 million at an enviable standard of living.

Manpower shortages had never been acute in Venezuela until the oil companies began sucking up labor and goods as fast as they did petroleum. Peasants and *llaneros*, fishermen and lumberjacks, pearl divers and factory workers abandoned their trades to work for the *petroleros* at $8 a day. All over Venezuela today ranchos are abandoned, farm lands lie fallow and country villages stand half empty.

As the oil industry expanded, wages and prices soared. What little manufacturing there was succumbed to rising costs. At one time, Venezuela had a big match manufacturing industry, supplying the whole Caribbean area. Today, Venezuela's matches are made in Sweden.

The country cheerfully allowed its industries to go to pot and bought everything it needed from abroad with big bundles of oil dollars, guilders and sterling. Even the war did not, at first, awaken the nation to its danger.

Between 1938 and 1946 oil production doubled, and income quintupled. But, as the war progressed, even these riches could not buy the things Venezuela needed. For the first time, people had to queue up for food. Sometimes they went hungry.

"We discovered," a Venezuelan economist shrugged, "that petroleum and dollars do not make a nutritious diet. They also do not clothe and house people."

The country was actually reduced to sending emissaries to swap petroleum for potatoes in Holland, cement in Poland, textiles in Brazil, edible oil in the Phillipines. The people haven't forgotten. With goods still scarce in the world and another war quite possible, they are determined to balance the nation's economy.

Venezuelans are, mainly, highlanders. They speak with a harsh, gutteral accent. Their food is simple, not highly seasoned. They are independent, sober, industrious, little given to gaiety.

Above all they are guided largely by logic rather than emotion, and they have a profound sense of personal dignity. For example, the government not long ago decreed that it was undignified for a man to walk the streets of the capital without a jacket. Within days scarcely a shirtsleeve was to be seen on the streets of Caracas.

Content with full stomachs and easy money, the people had, since 1907, stolidly borne a quarter century of dictatorship under Gen. Juan Vincente Gómez, "The Codfish," and after his death in 1935, ten years of corrpution under his henchmen.

But they considered it incompatible with dignity for a rich people to beg supplies of their neighbors and illogical — in the midst of fertility — to go hungry. By the war's end it was time for a change.

That there should have been a revolution in 1945 is not surprising. But it is cause for astonishment that — for the first time in any Latin Amer ican nation — the revolting army de manded democracy and economic re form.

Allying themselves with democra tic leaders of the "class of 1928 (so-called because most of them ha graduated from the university at th time) the military rebels formed revolutionary *junta*. The *junta* un earthed an obscure, honest, compe tent newspaper editor, Rómulo Betan court, of the Democratic Action par ty, and set him up as acting president

Betancourt swept the country clea of the old Gómez clique and spon sored a new constitution.

This remarkable document grant universal suffrage to all over 18, pro vides for popular election to every important office, national and local It not only recognizes the inviolabil ity of private property, but guaran tees capital the right to a fair return on its investment.

It recognizes the workers' right t organize and strike, assures them o paid vacations, pensions, the eight hour day, minimum wages and a cer tain degree of profit-sharing. Every citizen is guaranteed the right to ar education, employment and health.

The state is held responsible fo developing the national economy Foreigners are guaranteed the basic civil rights and foreign capital can

TORTUOUS. Caracas is connected with the interior by this highway — a series of breath-taking switchbacks through misty mountaintops. Its northern section, from Caracas to the tropical coast is steeper. It drops dizzily 3,000 in approximately 25 miles.

not be expropriated without due process of law nor subjected to discriminatory levies.

The new leaders tackled economic and social reform with a vigor that surpasses that of the New Deal in its heydey. They are determined to convert Venezuela from its one-product economy by using oil revenues to finance and subsidize other industries. They call it "replowing petroleum."

The development of atomic energy for civilian use, remote as it may seem to others, worries them seriously, since it might destroy the market for petroleum. To obtain larger revenues for their program, they raised royalties and oil taxes to a point where the government now receives 50 per cent of the profits.

The oil companies took the increase with good grace. In fact, Standard's subsidiary has recently invested $100 million in new developments, including the world's largest cracking unit. The Shell subsidiary is also erecting its first oil refinery.

Hitherto, all Venezuelan crude had been refined on the near-by Dutch-owned islands of Curaçao and Aruba. Venezuela under Gómez had been considered too unstable politically to warrant such investment.

To handle most of the industrial projects the new government has established a Venezuelan Development Corp. similar to the RFC in the US.

It co-operates in some undertakings with the Venezuelan Basic Economy Corporation, an enterprise headed by Nelson Rockefeller and financed by private funds, including $15 million from the oil companies. VBEC supplies the know-how and, usually, half the capital.

One of the most benevolent examples of capitalist co-operation in developing backward economies, VBEC will sell its interest to local investors as soon as it get each project profitably on its feet. The fishing industry is the first project to be tackled by the two corporations. (See UNW, Oct., 1947.)

Also under development are a badly needed dairy industry, food ware-housing and distribution plants, cement works, a road-building program that will double existing mileage, a chain of tourist hotels, 38 new airports, irrigation projects, one of which will open 250,000 acres of grain lands, a cattle program that includes breeding stations, slaughterhouses and *frigoríficos,* enlargement of ports, dredging of the Orinoco to open it to ocean vessels, new telephone systems, and the first television station in South America.

Already set up is a government airline to Havana and New York, equipped with de-luxe Constellations and the most lavishly appointed waiting room in Manhattan.

A low-cost housing project, *El Silencio,* makes the finest New Deal housing look like barracks.

The speed and energy with which these industrial projects are going ahead have left conservative oldsters complaining that, "Those *niños* (young fellows) are going too fast." But the government is moving even faster in other directions.

To combat inflation the government has opened eight stores in the capital, an equal number elsewhere, to sell staples at cost, or even at a loss. Low cost workers' restaurants have been erected in industrial areas. New government banks provide low-interest loans to workers, farmers and homeowners.

The government also has passed an entomological miracle. In Caracas, virtually no insects flit around street lamps on warm nights. A program to wipe out mosquitoes has practically eliminated all flying bugs. Every house, store, barn and shed for hundreds of kilometers from Caracas bears the letters DDT and a control number.

These numbers now serve the subsidiary purpose of identifying houses that never had addresses before. It is quite proper to address a letter to "Juan Bimba, DDT No. 345, La Rosa de la Montaña, Venezuela."

Most impressive of all of the new government's achievements is its education program. In Caracas alone it built a dozen school buildings of streamlined magnificence. University City now rising on the outskirts of the capital, with its technological institutes and the first school of journalism in South America, will certainly rank as the finest campus on the continent.

Primary and secondary education is now compulsory. School attendance has risen 60 per cent since 1945. A program of adult mass education, conducted from 800 literacy centers and five mobile units, has reduced illiteracy from 79 to 59 per cent. Kindergartens and child care centers have been established in every sizeable city.

A start has been made toward industrial diversification. Strenuous efforts are devoted to attracting foreign, especially U. S., industries. Small plants of both General and

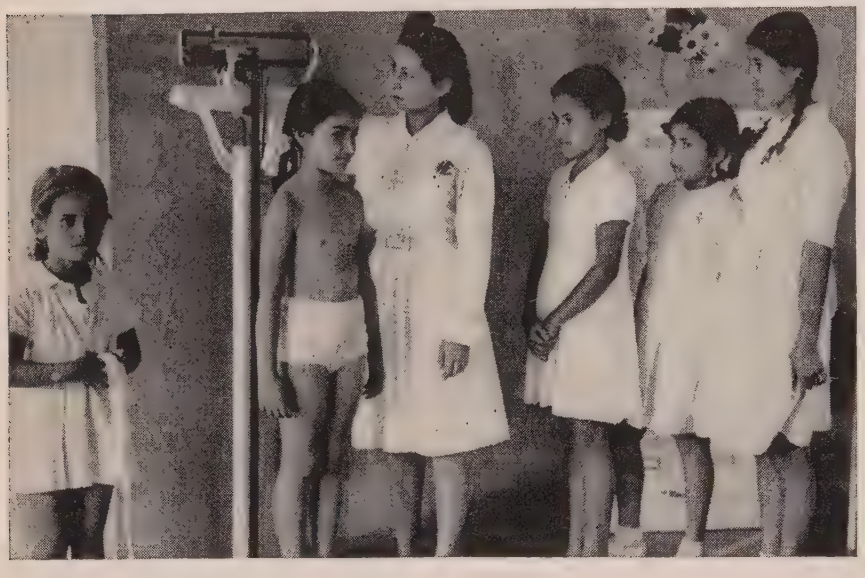
HOUSING. Low-income workers live in this splendid new government-sponsored apartment. A slum-clearance project, it is called El Silencioso because it replaced a redlight (hush-hush) district. The parked autos belong to workingmen residents.

Goodyear tire companies are already in production. A General Motors assembly plant is under construction. Sears Roebuck is building a new department store in the capital.

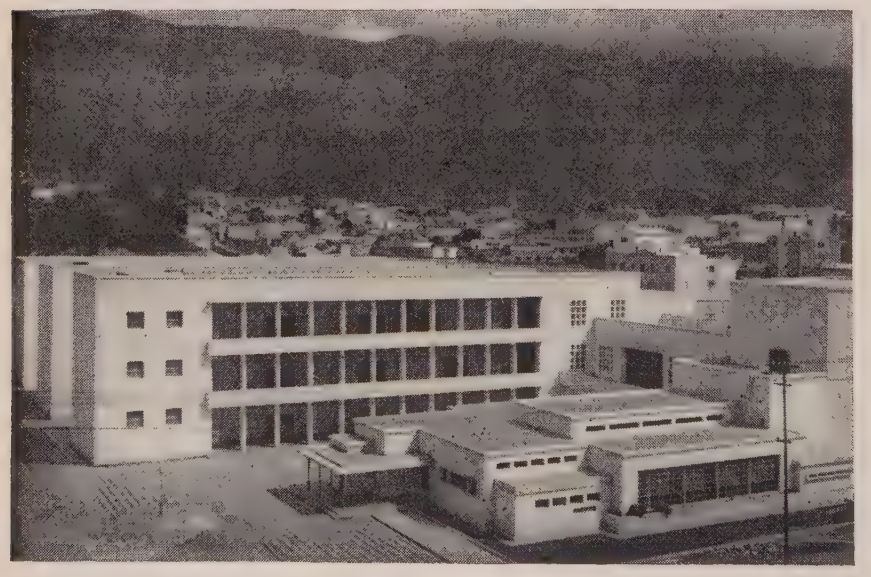
But the most promising new industrial development is the opening of big new iron mines near the Orinoco River to mine a very high-grade ore. Some of it assays 70 per cent pure! Bethlehem Steel has invested $30 million dollars, excepts to ship two million tons a year. U. S. Steel has a similar development.

In view of the imminent exhaustion of the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, Venezuelan iron may become of vital importance. "But if iron becomes even half as big as the oil industry," adds a disgruntled personnel man, "they might just as well close up the rest of the country. There won't be anybody but women and kids left to work it."

Shortage of labor, a prime cause of her weakness, is the great handicap to Venezuela's reconstruction. Three official missions in Europe sent only 15,000 carefully selected immigrants to Venezuela last year. Most are male farmers, non-Jewish. An additional 20,000 immigrants paid their own way. At this rate Venezuela could not meet its population requirements in lest than five centuries.



CHILD HEALTH. Schoolgirls being examined by a nurse are of the first generation being provided the education and care oil money can buy. A school lunch program assures one balanced meal a day—something well-paid fathers cannot always provide.



HIGH SCHOOL. Typical of the social uses to which Venezuelan oil taxes are now being put, this schoolhouse embodies the most modern ideas of construction. The opposite side of the narrow, temperate valley in which Caracas lies can here be measured by the eye.

In 1947 were held the first free elections in Venezuela's long history. Seven parties, including two rival Communist factions, vied for the vote. Public monuments, buildings, sidewalks and roads will be disfigured for years with the huge painted slogans of the rivals. Great billboards urged people to vote as a patriotic duty.

The elections were scrupulously honest. One and a quarter million people flocked to the polls as compared to 35,000 who voted in previous elections. The *Acción Democrática* party won 83 of 110 seats in the lower house, 38 of 46 in the Senate. Its presidential candidate Rómulo Gallegos won a 75 per cent majority.

On leaving office, acting president Betancourt published a financial statement as he had done on his installation. It revealed that he had lost money on the job. He was 12,000 *bolívars* in debt!

This situation is so unusual in Latin American where public office is sought as a chance to make one's fortune that all Venezuela was speechless with astonishment.

If prosperity has not made Venezuelans venal, neither has it made them materialistic. Rómulo Gallegos rose to fame as a novelist. As his Foreign Minister, he has appointed Andrés Eloy Blanco, the country's greatest poet.

To be called an "intellectual" is the highest compliment one can pay a Venezuelan. During the fortnight gala inauguration, signs throughout the city invited the populace to bull fights, ball games, and fiestas in honor of *"El gran intelectual, Don Rómulo Gallegos."*

Brains and integrity in high office are resources Venezuela now has for the first time since the days of Bolívar. Whether the bright young men can control the flood of oil and money that keeps their rich country hungry, time alone will tell.

"We're betting $30 million that they can," said one of Nelson Rockefeller's industrial engineers. "That is, if time doesn't run out on them. Another war will make this country little more than a glorified filling station."

A well-known social scientist diagnoses
the psychological illness of the world's most powerful nation

What Does America Fear?

IS IT THE NAMELESS NAME OF FEAR ITSELF?

BY CARY McWILLIAMS

The America of 1948, the most powerful nation in the world, is caught in a paroxysm of fear. For more than a decade, paradoxically, as our fabulous productive capacity has jumped by approximately 50 per cent, the tides of our fear have risen. The irony is even more deeply sensed when one recognizes the pathetic fact that *we cannot identify what it is that we fear.*

America, the colossus of the modern world, trembles at the threat of shadowy ideas that cannot be defined. There is a warning in this for it is only nameless fears that breed panic and disaster.

The growth of fear in America now verges on social panic. Evidence of it can be gleaned from any edition of any newspaper. I have before me a clipping based upon a dispatch to the San Francisco *Chronicle* from Vance Johnson, its correspondent in the national Capital.

"A pall of inactivity," he writes, "shrouds the capital." He tells how a hearty laugh on the street causes people to turn and stare; how government workers fidget at their desks. Military leaders snipe at each other's services and their roles in the next war. A top security officer in the State Department is looked upon with suspicion because his second cousin once consorted with Communists.

The jitters may be worse in Washington than elsewhere but the whole country is nervous, fear-ridden, snappy, on edge.

The other day I was one of a delegation which visited the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County to lodge a protest against the adoption of a "loyalty test" for some 20,000 county employees.

At one point in the interview, which took place in an atmosphere of grotesque suspicion and verbal confusion, I asked one member of the board how many complaints or charges of disloyalty had been filed against county employees during the war.

"We had a 100 per cent record," he replied; "not a single case of that kind arose." Why, then, did he feel that it was necessary to adopt in peacetime this so-called security measure? His angry answer was: "All I have to say is that if there is one damned Communist on the county payroll I'm in favor of sending him back to Russia." An official in this frame of mind has lost the capacity for judgment.

Like other citizens, I am concerned about the military security of the United States; but what concerns me most is this psychosis of fear. Security has become an obsession; but security from what? for what? by what means?

I fear our fear more than I fear any enemies known or suspected.

But I, too, will confess to fear. On the west coast, where I live, I hear everyday about mysterious "projects" in the community, carefully guarded, not-to-be mentioned, where dreadful researches are in progress. Not even the top officials in charge of these projects seems to know the ramifications of their researches.

Recently a friend of mine, a book-dealer, attempted to deliver some scientific treatises which had been ordered by the library of the California Institute of Technology. To his astonishment, he discovered that this center of scientific research is nowadays guarded like a prison.

He also reports that the Cal Tech scientists have a feeling that they are in fact prisoners, working on projects the control of which is vested in persons they have never seen, fashioning processes which will be used for purposes to which they would never give their approval.

The knowledge that such projects exist, coupled with the appalling silence which envelops them, makes for a community atmosphere not only tense with fear but heavy with foreboding.

A fear that cannot be defined is a fear that can never be mastered. What precisely is it that we fear today? The headlines answer: "Russia," "Communism," "Red Fascism." But, if it were Russia that we really feared, would our leaders be setting group against group and raising, with reckless disregard of the consequences, doubts and suspicions about the "patriotism" and "loyalty" of their fellow citizens?

A good case can be made for the proposition that, if Russia and Communism did not exist, we would have to invent their counter parts to appease our need for both an "external" and an "internal" enemy.

THE SECOND MOST POWERFUL NATION ALSO

HAS THE JITTERS — WHAT DOES RUSSIA FEAR?

THAT QUESTION WILL BE ANALYZED

DISPASSIONATELY IN A FORTHCOMING ISSUE

During the war, this same necessity to seek out an "internal" enemy largely motivated the mass evacuation of 110,000 persons of Japanese descent from the West coast. Today the former advocates of this measure are shamefaced and freely confess their error; but in 1942 they were impervious to reason.

Fear of an "external" enemy inevitably gives rise to a parallel fear of an "internal" enemy. And this latter fear can never be placated. A purge of 10 "disloyal" federal employees will give rise to a demand that 20 should be purged, for, as is always said, "if there was one, there must be others."

Exoneration of a person whose loyalty has been questioned will merely raise doubt as to the loyalty or competence of those who conducted the hearing. One set of loyalty-testers will then find themselves at loggerheads with a rival set: Witness the impasse between the reviewing board set up by the Civil Service Commission and the Thomas Committee. Counter-espionage becomes the order of the day and the whole atmosphere is poisoned with rumors and hearsay and even gossip.

Once this happens, no man dare think or write or converse with his neighbors or read a newspaper without fear of the invisible "censor," "the judge," the eavesdropper.

It is not by chance, therefore, that the 10 individuals who were hailed before the reviewing board set up by the State Department were not furnished with copies of the charges against them. The truth is that these charges could not be defined. This much can be seen from Bert Andrews' superb account in the New York *Herald Tribune.*

Floundering in a fog of confusion, not knowing what to say or how to defend themselves, they were no more mystified than the interlocutors who sat before them silent, refusing — in fact unable — to shed any light on the nature of the hearing. One cannot read Mr. Andrews' account without realizing that it was a weird fantasy in which words had no meaning, facts no significance, in which fear was the one great reality.

Old American Custom

Oscar Handlin argues that nativistic anti-minority movements regularly arise in America during periods of great crisis. The reaction, he says, has been to find a basis of unity through opposition to some group — the Negroes, the foreigners, the Japanese, the anarchists.

In a survey of such movements, Handlin concluded that, in not a single instance, had any real connection existed between the objectives which these demagogic movements espoused and the activities, real or imagined, of the group they opposed.

Once the general crisis abated, the nativistic movements quickly disintegrated. They had been but reflexive, quick, violent attacks aimed at irrelevant targets. The outsiders, the targets, were simply a scapegoat to which all the qualities the community feared could be ascribed and which the community could unite in hating.

I have become convinced that the long-delayed civil rights concessions to Negroes in the South would have gone forward rather quickly had it not been for "the cold war" with Russia. Frightful images of "Russia," "Communism" and "The Atomic Bomb" arouse the fear which spurs the South's revival of Negro baiting.

Nor is this the only illustration that might be cited in which our current psychosis of fear is bringing social progress to a halt.

Our real internal enemy is precisely this nameless fear which, by arresting the hope of social advancement, contributes to the very reactions which can catapult us into war. The linkage here between fear and hate is unmistakable.

The most serious consequence of all this is that it builds up, within the individual citizen, a feeling of utter helplessness, a feeling that his fate is being determined by "crises" which neither he nor his elected representatives can foresee or manage.

We can never know what it is that we fear unless people are encouraged to speak with complete freedom. Today fear is effectively inhibiting freedom of speech. Despite the fact that, as E. R. White pointed out in an eloquent letter in the *Herald Tribune* of December 2, 1947, "it is not a crime to believe anything at all in America," a large section of the public now acquiesces in the notion that certain beliefs are as a matter of fact criminal.

The same forces, official and unofficial, which have intimidated the individual are now proceeding to blanket an ever-larger domain of public interest under a mantle of silence in the name of security. This aspect of the problem is tersely posed in an article by Hanson W. Baldwin, in the New York *Times* of March 7, 1948, in which he points out that censorship cannot guard our security without infringing our basic freedoms.

The Fear-Hate Cycle

Wherever one looks in the America of 1948 this same fear-hate-fear complex is painfully evident: In the South, the KKK is on the march. In Wrightsville, Ga., more than 400 qualified Negroes stayed away from the polls in a primary election following a public warning by the Klan. A week later, two newspapermen were manhandled when they attempted to report a KKK meeting.

CALIFORNIA COWBOY WITH A CONSCIENCE

FIGHTER AGAINST FEAR

Carey McWilliams claims he gained his basic knowledge of sociology from cowboys on the ranch where he grew up. Later he earned an LLB at Southern California and thereafter served for four years as Commissioner of Immigration and Housing in California. In 1939 he published *Factories in the Field* and has written five other books since then. His latest, *A Mask for Privilege*, is a history and analysis of anti-Semitism in the U. S.

A scurrilous pamphlet is being widely distributed which, by direct statement, charges that the military security of America is in jeopardy because a Jew, David Lilienthal, is chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

For years, now, I have kept a current file on "religious tensions," that is, inter-faith controversies and conflicts. In thumbing through this file, I detect that the tone in which these discussions are pitched has become increasingly bitter.

The other day, a judge in Los Angeles, refused to consider the petition of the Soviet Consul in an estate case on behalf of heirs living in Russia. Brushing aside treaty provisions and rules of law, this judge proceeded to indulge in a tirade of political abuse. Turning to the attorney for the consul, he sharply inquired if he were a citizen of the United States.

When the astonished lawyer replied that he was, indeed, a citizen, he was told that it was his duty to withdraw from the proceeding (Los Angeles *Times*, March 19, 1948). With judges in this frame of mind, what citizen can feel "security" in the rule of law?

It is my conviction, unsupported by tangible evidence, that what we really fear, as much as anything else, is the atomic bomb and other, newer, more dreadful ways of dying.

One day last week, while I was at work in my study, I heard an extraordinary roaring and whirling noise in the skies, as of a plane which seemed to come dangerously near. I rushed out of doors, as did most of my neighbors. It was high noon, a perfectly clear day, without a cloud in the sky.

Although the "noise" passed directly overhead, we could see nothing, not even a streak of light or a trail of smoke. It was obvious that the noise we had heard was that of a plane travelling faster than sound and gone before we heard it.

For a moment we stood there, at the street corner, somewhat dazed and puzzled, attempting to disguise our uneasiness with wisecracks about this and that but the experience could not be passed off so lightly.

These and similar external stimulants to fear link up with the fear of losing one's job or of having one's loyalty questioned because of some political affiliation or public interest. Recently Arizona and Washington created state committees on "un-American Activities" to conduct, on a state level, the same campaign of thought-control which the Thomas Committee is conducting nationally.

California has had such a committee for over a decade. Merely to state the fact, in this manner, is to catch its meaning: 10 years is a long time. Note, also, the ease with which the Thomas Committee obtained $200,000, the largest appropriation in its history to continue its work, despite the fact that leading newspapers of the nation had severely criticized its procedures and questioned many of its findings.

Can it be that committees of this sort are in process of becoming permanent agencies of government in free America?

Committees of this sort, once established, seem to go on forever. Obviously an irrational fear lurks behind the headlines of a story in the New York *Times* of March 7, 1948: "Congress in Quandary over U. S. Communists — Legislators Agree on 'Menace' but Not on How to Counteract It."

The "menace" here is to be found in an attitude of mind which is willing to sanction serious inroads on civil rights in the name of a struggle against an evil which no one seems to know how to counteract.

One need only recall the findings of the social psychologists who investigated the "shock" effects of Orson Welles' celebrated dramatization of the invasion of the Martians to appreciate how the steady accumulations of news items, rumors and personal frustrations are building up a great, blind, and unreasoning fear in the minds of millions.

Courage Without Fear

Fortunately a new courage is being born, or revived, to meet this alarming growth of fear.

Newspapers headlined "the revolt of the South" against the President's Civil Rights program. Without headlines the Texas Council of Church Women endorsed this program without a dissenting vote.

Acts of bigotry and hatred which have gone unchallenged for decades in America are now being seriously and consciously resisted. Witness the way in which "white" students have conducted demonstrations in favor of the admission of Negro students to the University of Oklahoma and the University of Missouri; witness Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter's firm stand in favor of the admission of Negroes to the parochial schools in St. Louis; witness the strong position taken by Actor's Equity against Jim Crow practices in American theaters. Only the other day the University of Washington announced that henceforth it would bar social or fraternal organizations from the campus if their constitutions contain racial or religious restrictions on membership.

The manner in which the scientists of America rallied to the defense of Dr. Condon when the head of the Bureau of Standards was attacked by the Thomas Committee is another indication that resistances to intimidation are mounting.

No one who has read the forthright statements, editorials, and letters of E. B. White of *The New Yorker* on the case of the Hollywood writers can doubt that freedom has at least one eloquent disciple in contemporary America.

When Congress voted the contempt citations against the Hollywood writers, the lone Republican dissent was that of 35-year old Congressman Claud I. Bakewell of Missouri, a veteran of World War II who voted after, so he said, "wrestling with my conscience."

We hear too little of individual resistances of this character, for they are usually buried in the news columns under an avalanche of "crisis" stories, rumors of war, war-mongering statements and other sensations.

On the nature of fear, we have a rich storehouse of traditional wisdom and lore which should be carefully pondered in America today. "He that fleeth from fear shall fall into the pit" (Jeremiah); "Fear is a bad guardian for a thing that ought to last" (Cicero); "Fear always represents objects in their worst light" (Livy); "Our fears do make us traitors" (Shakespeare); "He that knows no guilt can know no fear" (Massinger); "There is no medicine for fear" (Scottish proverb); "How often the fear of one evil leads us into a worse!" (Nicolas Boileau); "Nothing is so rash as fear" (Edmund Burke); "Fear always goeth armed" (Spanish proverb); "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself" (Franklin D. Roosevelt).

In each of these maxims there is a truth to be applied to the hysterical, fear-ridden state of opinion in the America of 1948.

A million displaced persons from every nation in Europe are idling away their lives in the dreariness of camp life throughout Germany and Austria. For reasons political, racial, religious or economic, most of them are no longer welcome in the lands of their birth.

Few will ever be able to go home again. There is little for them to do in the camps; they represent wasted productive capacity. Far worse, others must produce to keep them alive. Europe, struggling to rebuild its economy, cannot afford this today.

The conversion of idle mouths into active hands, of non-producers into producers, is the job of UN's International Relief Organization (IRO). Although hampered by lack of support from some members of the United Nations, shortage of funds, conflicting views as to the number that should be forced to return to their home land, IRO has achieved much. Canada, Belgium and several Latin American nations have already taken large numbers of DP's into their industry as factory workers, onto their farms as agricultural laborers, and into their homes and institutions as domestic workers.

One of the most interesting and successful of these resettlement projects was Operation "Westward Ho!", a British plan to transplant to the United Kingdom 100,000 DP's from forty countries living in refugee camps in the British zone. "Westward Ho!" may be regarded as a test-tube case of problems and advantages arising from transplantation of political refugees.

Before a single DP could be moved consultations had to be held between the Government and the trade union and employer representatives and conditions acceptable to all parties worked out. Understandably the trade unions required guarantees that the displaced persons would not undercut or undermine their own wages and working conditions. DP's brought to Britain therefore work under precisely the same conditions as British workers, draw the same pay and rations, contribute to the social security taxes. The industries into which they could go were limited to undermanned and essential ones, particularly coal mining, textiles, agriculture, domestic service and service in hospitals and other similar public institutions.

To the camps in the British Zones, Austrian and German, went officials of the British Ministry of Labour to seek suitable recruits for the scheme which from inception has been entirely voluntary.

Details of the scheme with full conditions were circulated so that the displaced persons were fully acquainted with the field of recruitment, the conditions of employment and the arrangements for free transport to England.

Officers from the Ministry of Labour worked with the Control Commission, UNRRA and IRO officials. Initially, recruitment was limited to

Operation Westward Ho

THE STIRRING TALE OF HOW 100,000 DP's FROM TWENTY NATIONS ARE MAKING NEW JOBS, NEW HOMES, NEW LIVES IN ENGLAND

BY ERNEST DAVIES

Member of the British Parliament

A DOZEN EVW's, YOUNG MEN BUT NOT YET BRAWNY, LINE UP FOR A DAY'S FIELDWORK

able-bodied men and women between 18 and 50 but hopes were held out for their dependents to join them later. These have been fulfilled and the first dependents were brought to England within six months of the first recruits.

The visiting Ministry of Labour officer addresses a camp meeting, gives further details and answers questions about work and working conditions in Great Britain.

In the camps volunteers are interviewed, medically examined and then taken to a regional collecting camp whence they proceed by train to a transit camp at Hamburg. Provided with pocket money, they embark by ship for Hull.

Arriving in England they are taken to a Holding Camp where all the formalities of ration cards, registration etc., are taken care of speedily and with as little fuss as possible, and the job of placing them in employment begins. Here for instance is Inskip Hostel, a hutted ex-Naval station, orderly and friendly. On arrival by bus from the port the DP's now rechristened European Voluntary Workers are greeted in traditional English style with a hot cup of tea, and after being shown the spacious dormitories, in each of which a dozen are to sleep, a hot meal is served no matter what time of day or night they arrive. Hot baths follow and with ample facilities for laundry and pressing many turn to repairing the ravages of the voyage. There is nothing of an institution about this camp thanks to the Officer in Charge of Foreign Labour at the local employment exchange.

One of these is Miss Wilkinson, a little lady of 50, frail, with a gentle and sweet manner and friendly blue eyes. To her they bring their problems and she guides their destinies. Her problem is to fit the EVW's into the work they want, which requires individual interviews; and Miss Wilkinson refuses to rush them or be rushed herself. Generally at least a week elapses before they are placed, employers sometimes coming to the hostel to interview prospective employees, but generally Miss Wilkinson's judgment is trusted by the employer who takes them on her recommendation. During this week the EVW's have ample time to explore the new and strange city, to visit the movies, to improve their English and enjoy their first real freedom in years. If they do not like the job to which they are assigned they can bring their difficulty to Miss Wilkinson, and if the employer is not satisfied, which is infrequent, Miss Wilkinson will make another try elsewhere. Miss Wilkinson will tell you that having heard the EVW's sad stories of persecution and slave labour she has set herself the task of compensating for the past by making them all as happy and comfortable as possible. Assisting her is a friendly staff mainly EVW's themselves.

Miss Wilkinson appears to have succeeded. Here is the manager of a typical cotton mill where many of the women are at work. "I'm well pleased with the results," he says, "although there was the expected language difficulty. I find it hard to explain mistakes to them. It's easier to teach than correct their faults. I'll tell you one thing; any of them are far more excitable than the British workers but good tempered nonetheless."

After the idleness of the D.P. camps in Germany, the EVW's find it difficult at first to adjust themselves to the routine of factory life, to the long hours of standing, and they find the work hard if previously trained for office or other sedentary work or if they were used to a life of leisure.

But, working side by side with their British fellows they found the traditional British reserve was quickly broken down and when the annual holiday came round and the whole factory had its outing to the neighboring seaside resort the men clubbed together to pay for their foreign colleagues. The women not to be outdone brought cloths for them and looking round the factory with the women clad in head scarves and overalls it was difficult to pick out the EVW's.

At a large woolen mill in Yorkshire the EVW women workers found the work less hard than in the cotton mills. Seven girl winders among the 45 EVW's there had established a new record in winding.

"That set a good example to the younger British girls which has had results," the manager said with satisfaction. "They get on fine together. If there are small difficulties in the factories there is always the welfare officer to make the readjustments and they know all the foreign workers by name, though I question the pronunciation at times. Some of these foreign names sound queer in Yorkshire mouths."

Other women work in the holding camps and hostels in the public institutions. The men are mainly in agriculture and the mines, for which they have to be trained. The training includes 500 words of basic English.

Everywhere it is the same story of quick adjustment and friendliness. There is an apparently insatiable demand among the employers for more foreign workers. They are learning English fast and their factory friends have thought up quite a number of ways of teaching it to them. Of course there are the proper English lessons which the firm's wel-

IN THE HOSTEL LOUNGE

AFTER WORK one girl writes a letter, two others read a newspaper in their native tongue. The man has put on his best suit for dinner—and for the photographer.

there was reluctance to take them in but once the view was current that the foreigners were all right they found it easier than the British to get accommodation.

"They've had a hard time, are clean and hardworking so we take them in," explained a Lancashire housewife. Some enterprising firms have acquired large houses and converted them into boarding houses for the EVW's so that lack of accommodation is no obstacle to getting the labour they want.

The hostels are as friendly as the holding camps. EVW's live there while training, receive English lessons and have a happy social life. Loxley Hall, an old country mansion, in Staffordshire, has in its spacious grounds a hutted camp in which the men working on agriculture live, going forth to their work in trucks each day. The old Hall, once the seat of aristocracy, was formerly a POW camp but it has none of that atmosphere about it today and the stables of the Hall and the lofts above have been converted into attractive club rooms and studios where games and the bar are well patronised of an evening. It's run by the EVW's themselves, and to assist them to learn British democratic ways they appoint officers of the club to act jointly with the English officers. The men on returning from the farms, after a hot meal and a shower, can be found sitting around the bar chatting, playing the piano or in the billiard, table tennis or darts room. Many are conscientiously talking English, English lessons are given by the German teacher of the local school, who also gives a talk to the fare officers arrange for them, but there are other more unconventional methods such as taking them shopping and to football games and pointing out each thing in English as it comes along, or in teaching them out of brightly coloured alphabet books which the children have grown out of. This last method, incidentally, is claimed to be far the best by an elderly Lancashire cotton operative who has taken a bunch of young EVW's under his wing.

Once work has been found, the EVW's leave the holding camps and go to hostels or billets. Many have found rooms on their own with British families they work beside in the factories and are rapidly becoming absorbed in the local life. At first men in German each week on current affairs. Others will be reading, for the hostel has its own library equipped with books lent by the local public library. It also has its own Saving Group, Post Office and church and the gardens are being cultivated by the EVW's in their spare time.

Among the residents at these hostels are persons of all professions and former walks of life from all over Europe who now work in happy, healthy surroundings to which they were never trained and never expected to undertake. At Loxley Hall there is a leading barrister from one of the former Baltic states, who, while a D.P. in Germany, trained for farm work at an agricultural college organized by UNRRA. He contended he was too old to learn another language sufficiently well to practice his profession in a foreign country and he knew that farm workers were needed most of all today. There is the ex-head of police of a Baltic capital city, tall and handsome who is anxiously waiting for his family.

In the studios constructed above the stables, is a sculptor at work, beside two artists busy with their oils despite the long day's farm work they have done. Their spare time efforts in these unusual surroundings far from the art centers of the great capitals of Europe, may make them famous again. Then there is the EVW in charge of Loxley Hall's sick bay. Trained as a dentist in Latvia she has a daughter and son-in-law who will shortly be joining her, but she does not wish her name disclosed for political reasons. Her son-in-law was not fit enough to volunteer for "Westward Ho!" but she preferred to come to prepare a new home for them if possible. Once she gets her dental equipment she is confident she will do well enough as the hostel's dentist to have them join her. Each one in the club room has a story to tell but they prefer to crowd round and describe the peace of mind they have found in their work and their surroundings which they had thought lost forever.

There is the same expression of freedom and gratitude wherever the EVW's are questioned. In a Bradford factory a party of thirty Ukrainians solemnly ask one to tell the factory

WORK AND FUN — ON THE JOB AND ON THE COMMON

THIS SLAVIC girl with heart-shaped face is eager to learn a weaver's skills.

IN SUSSEX, Latvian girls perform a graceful folk dance at a holiday garden party. Without kerchiefs, blondes by two to one, they might easily be English girls.

THE CHILD GETS A NURSE, THE MOTHER GETS A MAID, THE EVW DOMESTIC GETS A HOME.

manager that they are perfectly happy and would like to stay with him always and ask that the British be thanked for letting them come to England. But not all can be expected to be content forever with the unaccustomed work they are now doing. Many will inevitably wish to return to their former professions, or at least to better themselves, and this will also apply to the younger ones among whom marriage to other EVW's is a common occurrence.

These DP's came on the understanding that they would have to work for a year in the industry to which they were assigned. No promise was given as to the future nor that they would become able to acquire British nationality. So well adjusted have they become, and now that they are being joined by their dependents, there is little question as to their future.

Already under "Westward Ho!" more than 30,000 non-producers have become producers. Many are also supporting their dependents who have joined them. These mouths are no longer fed through the efforts and charity of others, their own hands are now at work earning their keep.

Not all the non-repatriable DP's can be settled so satisfactorily but many more can; "Westward Ho!" provides for 100,000 workers to be drawn from the camps of the continent and brought to Britain. But the United Kingdom can only take her share and new lives must be built for these unfortunates whose old life was ruined through no fault of their own. It is being done in Britain and can be done elsewhere. That is the responsibility of all Members of the United Nations.

UN DIARY

STALIN, AUSTIN, LIE SPEAK UP FOR UN
WHO TELLS GROMYKO WHAT TO EAT
UN WINS MILKY SMILES AND MOVIE OSCAR

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL and JEANNE WASHABAUGH

Spring news was bad news for the United Nations, including what it made itself. Exceptions were few. Warren R. Austin, US delegate, was one to make good news. Secretary-General Trygve Lie was another. Stalin was a third.

• As an obedient servant of his sovereign government, Austin had announced US reversal of its stand for Palestine partition. He got dirty looks and snide comments in the corridors from Jews and many non-Jews and was accused of duplicity by newsmen who claimed that he had repeated US support of partition to them while he had in his vest pocket directives to block it. Two weeks later, speaking in his own voice, Austin affirmed that in its first three years, the UN had done a tremendous job for world welfare. "Without the UN, the world today would be without hope," he wrote. (UNW, April, 1948). The fact that a man in Austin's position, even when speaking for himself, cannot but reflect the policy of his government, made his UNW article one of faith in the United Nations by the US.

• Trygve Lie spoke up for the UN in a blunt warning to over-sovereign states. "What is really at stake today," he said, "is the prestige of the five big powers . . . It is primarily up to them to find a solution to many of the questions which are before the United Nations and its Security Council."

• Stalin did his good deed with the Soviet-Finnish Mutual Aid Treaty. It adheres scrupulously to the letter and spirit of the UN Charter. Twice in seven clauses Stalin specifically committed his nation to act in accord with UN rules.

Parlez Vous Etc?

That demi-god of modern architecture, Le Corbusier, who helped design the new UN buildings isn't too happy about the project. But he isn't so depressed that he cannot pun: "*Ils les façonnent — sans façon — a leur façon,*" he wrote a New York friend recently. Even in translation, the pun is still sharp. "It will be beautiful but monstrous, exciting but disappointing," he concluded.

One Year Later

One year ago, the first special session of the General Assembly undertook to solve the Palestine problem. On April 16, 1948, a second special session, under the presidency of Dr. Jose Arce of Argentina, opened at Flushing Meadow for the same purporse. In between, scores of meetings were held and a compromise — partition of Palestine into a Jewish and as Arab state — was recommended.

When the Arabs violently refused to accept the recommendation and the Holy Land threatened to become a scene of conflict, the Security Council was asked to take action. At that point Austin, who had repeatedly voiced US support of partition, suddenly proposed that a special Assembly should be called to set up a trusteeship for the whole of Palestine (see page 10) until a solution is found.

He also proposed that the UN Palestine Commission, which was to have taken over the reins of government when the British mandate ends May 15, suspend its work. That put Palestine right back where it started a year ago — or farther back.

The Czech Case

As if Palestine weren't enough, the Security Council was handed another head-line problem — Czechoslovakia. Introduced theatrically, the Czech affair aroused more rage than reason.

Elimination in late February of pro-western forces from the Czech government had alarmed the western world. The subsequent suicide on March 10 of Jan Masaryk, foreign minister, democrat and warm UN supporter, turned world crisis into personal tragedy.

On the grey March day after Masaryk died, the Czech representative

SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES TO RECONSIDER PARTITION

HANDS UP. All but two members of the Security Council raise their hands to signify aye. The abstaining USSR and Ukrainian SSR delegates are Gromyko, in dark spectacles on the far side of the horse shoe table, and Tarassenko next to the left.

to the UN, Jan Papanek, charged that the Soviet Union helped to engineer the rise to power of the Czech Communists. He asked the UN to step in and investigate Russia's role in the alleged "coup."

Papanek's request for UN action was ignored by Mr. Lie as it came from an individual, not from a UN member state. But that night, Chile's Santa Cruz was called out of an Economic and Social Council meeting by a long distance phone call from President Videla. The next morning, Chile agreed to speak for Papanek.

Denying that his country had any part in Czech events, Andrei Gromyko pointed out that UN investigation would be interference in domestic issues. Britain, the United States and Chile countered, arguing that if a foreign power interferes in the domestic affairs of another nation, it is a question of a threat to peace — which the Security Council is bound by the Charter to investigate.

Actually no investigation can take place — even by a subcommittee — if Gromyko maintains the stand taken at the mid-April meeting that this is a substantive matter.

The Council chamber sizzled with angry words. Gromyko and his Ukrainian colleague, Tarassenko, cried "slander" to Chilean accusations and said Santa Cruz was acting as a lackey for big powers in submitting his case. The US and UK made hot denials. The Russians then warned that interference in Czech domestic affairs would be a serious blow to the United Nations, turning it into a weapon against Eastern European countries. Other members of the Council favored a UN probe.

The Council was divided as to whether the Czech case should be investigated by a fact-finding sub-committee or by the Security Council itself. The Czech government has refused to take part in any of the Council discussions.

In Prague, the Foreign Ministry stated, "the present Czechoslovak Government is a sovereign government . . . appointed by the President strictly in accordance with the Constitution . . . "

Vladimir Houdek was formally appointed to replace Papanek, who was dismissed as UN representative the day after he presented his letter to Trygve Lie. Papanek refused to leave until he got a written dismissal signed by President Benes. When that came through several weeks later, Papanek declared that the signature was either forged or forced. During the Council meetings, he and Houdek sat only a few chairs apart, their eyes fixed straight ahead.

Wistfulness on 31st St.

The Damascus Garden, a cafe on 31st Street in New York's garment district, is neither damascene nor garden-like. The garden is a one-flight-up loft with tables, where you can't pay more than a dollar for a meal. It s the haunt of Lebanese and Syrian businessmen, and of one dignified, distinguished diplomat.

Faris el-Khouri, Lebanese delegate to UN, and his wife go there regularly for its *baba-ganouge* and *shish-kebab*. When not recognized and embarrassed by hero worshippers, the great man sits wistfully watching his neighbors play gin rummy and drink tiny cups of turkish coffee.

Korea Goes to the Polls

Southern Korea is getting ready for Election Day. The United Nations Korean Commission will be on hand to try to make sure that the elections are democratic and free from strong-arm methods and high-pressure electioneering.

When, last year, the US and USSR occupation authorities couldn't reach an agreement on Korea's future, Secretary of State Marshall put the whole problem into the lap of the General Assembly. A commission was set up, in the face of a Soviet boycott, to oversee elections which were to have made Korea a unified, independent nation. The Russians held that turning the problem over to the UN was a violation of the Potsdam Declaration which said that the two occupying powers were to decide Korea's fate together.

Many fear that the elections will not be truly representative, since both Communist and some Rightist factions — with the important exception of that headed by Syngman Rhee, the interim-government leader now in power — have promised to boycott it. Both complain it may permanently split the country.

UN supervision of the elections cannot help but be inadequate. There are only three field observation teams and one in Seoul, made up of Commission and Secretariat personnel, which cannot begin to cover all polling places. Jean Louis Paul Boncour, acting chairman, admitted the Commission's shortcomings. For example, there are only a handful of interpreters, a hundred are said to be needed.

For better or for worse, there will be the framework of an independent state in part of Korea after this month. Because of the character of these elections, that framework can scarcely be strong. The National Assembly's first job will be to set up a permanent government. Few believe either the United States or USSR will agree to withdraw their troops.

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD

PLEASED: Shaking hands heartily are Aleksander P. Morosov, USSR, left, and John Maktos, US. They had just been chosen vice-chairman and chairman, respectively, of the Committee on Genocide. Smiling at left is Assistant Secretary General Henri Laugier.

No Victual Veto

Charles Ohmer of the Delegates Dining Room is Danish, debonair and in the tradition of the great headwaiters of Europe. In a manner reminiscent of Olivier, once presiding diety of Paris' Ritz, he ushers guests to their tables, sees that service is prompt and painless. In no way overbearing, Charles is the one person who dictates to Gromyko. At lunch, without even a glance at the menu, Russia's delegate meekly eats whatever Ohmer puts before him.

Turn-About on Trieste

Twenty-four hours after the US reversed her stand on Palestine, with the aid of Britain and France she asked that Trieste be returned to Italy. It had been put under United Nations protection by the Italian peace treaty but the Security Council has not been able to agree on a governor. This was one of the reasons given by the western nations for their request. Another was that occupation by American, British and Yugoslav soldiers was not working.

Real reason for the change of heart was probably fear of greater Yugoslav influence and of Communist inroads in the Italian elections.

Shortwave Back Talk

Mary Vuchetich, is pretty, curly-haired, and assistant in the European and Middle Eastern Service of UN's Radio Division. She receives a great deal of mail, mainly technical communications concerning reception of shortwave broadcasts.

But she also receives messages like this one from a Spanish student: "Invested," he declares, "of the force which comes to me by heavily studying the Charter, I agree to state that it should prevent the sequent danger to mankind which now shivers the world."

Miss Vuchetich doesn't know quite how to answer that. She found it easier to respond to the enthusiastic feminine fan who wrote that she was "giving up cocktail parties" in Muskegon, Mich., because they interfered with her favorite UN program.

Miss Vuchetich has politely rejected the suggestion of a gentleman of Cairo who wants the programs broadcast in Esperanto. "All my friends speak it," he assured her.

Standardizing Standards

Diversity may be interesting but it's a handicap to One World. Medical experts of the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva recently launched a large-scale research program aimed at setting up international, uniform standards for cholera and whooping cough vaccine, scarlet fever antitoxin, diphtheria and tetanus toxoid, blood groups, the RH factor, digitalis and vitamins A and D.

Need for standardization became clear during last fall's cholera epidemic in Egypt when 29 different types of vaccine, flown in from many countries by WHO, had first to be tested for potency. Europe, America and India will co-operate.

Word Skirmish

The Russian word for yes is *da*, for no *niet*. The latter, to an American ear can sound like "yet." To which circumstance, and exasperation with Russian vetoes, headquarters owes this current couplet:

GROMYKO

He may say da, *he may say niet —*
But he hasn't said da niet.

Taken up by Soviet partisans, it has been given this anti-Austin twist:

He may say da, *he may say* niet —
He hasn't said da *but* niet.

UN Film Wins Oscar

"First Steps," a movie produced by the United Nations Film Division, has won Hollywood's top honor — the Academy Award, in the short documentary film division. It is the story of how children who have had cerebral palsy and paralysis are taught to walk again.

The movie was made last summer at a camp for crippled children near Asbury Park, N. J. An Indian doctor was medical supervisor and the film was originally designed for use in India. Sound tracks have been made for eight languages and the film will be released soon.

"For the Kids"

Nobody wants children to starve.

- The United Nations Appeal for Children drive opened in the United States in April, is expected to go over its $60,000,000 goal in May.
- Iceland has contributed $40,000 in gifts averaging $3 each.
- A 12-year-old Chinese orphan boy, Lu Hsiung-sun, walked into the offices of UNAC in China and laid 4,000 Chinese dollars (worth about two cents in American money) on the desk. It was his income for one day, earned picking up cigarette butts and selling them to a tobacco factory. "This is to help the United Nations feed children," he explained.
- Members of the UN Secretariat contributed $35,000.
- One unsolicited gift of 20 guineas (about $84) came with a note attached: "For the kids. No acknowledgment expected." The gruff donor: George Bernard Shaw.
- Millions of pounds of cod liver oil, margarine, powdered milk and fish have been sent to Europe and Asia by UNICEF. In one Bulgarian village, a rumor started that the powdered milk contained a mysterious, deadly germ. Only 80 children turned up for the first distribution.

They drank the milk and survived. Faith in the UN was restored and thereafter, the feeding station was jammed as long as the supply lasted. During the time of plenty, UNICEF received a poem written by a little Bulgarian girl. It ended like this:

Today we have drunk milk,
And we are thankful to the United Nations.
All my little sisters and I are smiling today.
Again we thank the United Nations!
Long live the United Nations!

House Shelves WHO

US ratification of the World Health Organization Constitution has been shelved by the House Rules Committee. The bill, calling for approval of US membership, has already been passed by the Senate and approved by the House Foreign Relations Committee. Of the Big Five only the US has not signed the Constitution.

WHO has been run by an Interim Commission but it became a permanent specialized agency of the UN when its constitution was ratified by 27 nations. The first World Health Assembly will be called in June.

The unexplained action of the House was hit by the New York Academy of Medicine which urged the Rules Committee to reconsider. Dr. George Baehr, president of the New York medical group called the Committee's action "an embarrassment to the medical and public health profession . . . taken behind closed doors without public explanation."

"L" for Effort

An ardent partisan of the Long Island Railroad — a man with a sense

of humor — overheard this. An oriental gentleman (who obviously had not commuted last winter) asked a Pennsylvania Station information clerk where he could catch the "Wrong Island Railroad to Lake Success."

Balkan Commission

In a cablegram to Secretary-General Lie, the Foreign Minister of Greece, Constantine Tsaldaris, accused the Greek rebels of kidnapping children from their families and spiriting them off to Greece's Eastern bloc neighbors in the north, in an attempt to terrorize and thus subjugate the Greek people into an unwilling acceptance of a Communist regime.

Tsaldaris said radio reports from Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania revealed the arrival of 1,300 children between the ages of 3 and 14 and this was only the beginning of the exodus of some 60,000 children.

Greek guerrilla quarters claim that the children are being evacuated from war zones for their own safety. Two thousand children are on their way to Czechoslovakia where they will be properly watched over by the Czechoslovak-Greek Society.

Meanwhile, the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, at work in Salonika since December 2, 1947, decided to start early in May on its final report to the General Assembly. A drafting committee of representatives of the nine countries on UNSCOB will work on the report in Geneva while the Committee itself stays on the job in Salonika.

Both Albania and Bulgaria have submitted complaints recently to the Secretary-General of alleged Greek provocation. The Commission is holding up action pending replies to its proposal that the two States and Yugoslavia re-establish normal diplomatic and neighborly relations with the recognized Greek Government.

Muddling Through

The Lord Mayor of London, who heads England's UN Appeal for Children, was not nonplussed to receive recently a contribution consisting of one old coat, half pound of margarine and a battered rubber plant. The items, auctioned off to his staff, brought £2.16 for the cause.

Free Is Free Is Free

Socrates' famous advice, "Define your terms," could well have been written on the walls in the Palais des Nations in Geneva where the Conference on Freedom of Information is meeting.

From both sides of the ideological Great Divide came fervent assurances that every country is enjoying complete freedom of the press. A Dutch delegate finally stated that "to a casual observer it would appear to be simple to find agreement."

But it wasn't. "Freedom" means many things to many men. The US delegation, headed by William Benton, former Asst. Secretary of State, was the author of an eight-clause resolution, setting forth its principles. The document recognizes the right to freedom of thought and expression. These rights are to be limited only by considerations of general welfare and security and by "recognition and respect for the rights of others."

The Soviet bloc voted against the US resolution because it did not condemn war-mongering. In the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, in the Subcommittee which prepared for this Conference, the Russians have repeatedly demanded that war talk, which has been popular with many newspapers of late, be silenced. This, they contended, was the real job of the Geneva

THE QUESTION IS CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EBULLIENT LATINS. Only Santa Cruz of Chile, rear, who presented the delicate Czechoslovak case to the Council, is not smiling. The smiles are Rodriguez of Uruguay (left), Stolk of Venezuela (right), and the gesture is Arce of Argentina.

GLOOMY SLAVS. Just arrived from Prague, Houdek and Gertrude Sakaninova, Czechoslovakia's new delegates, talk things over with Gromyko. Madame Sakaninova and Gromyko show no elation. Houdek's face is calm, still unlined.

meeting. The United States, on the other hand, called the issue a false one and a "grave danger" to the success of the Conference.

A resolution condemning war-mongering was unanimously passed in a new mood of conciliation. Although not as militant as the Eastern countries would have liked, they supported it. The resolution broadly follows the lines of the General Assembly's resolutions on war propaganda and false and distorted reports, passed at the last session. It recommends that all countries take measures within their own borders to curb war-mongering and news distortion but it does not recommend any legal penalties.

The United States found itself in a somewhat contradictory position because, while it stood firm for freedom to gather information, it excludes correspondents who are Communist. This affects many newsmen from the eight Eastern European countries. A draft convention, proposed by the US, promises journalists that governments will "facilitate the entry into and exit from their territories in a manner consistent with their respective laws."

Atom Parleys Stalled

On a reconnaissance tour of Lake Success, a UNW scout discovered a toy chemistry set on sale in the Secretariat gift shop, just off the cafeteria. Here, amongst nylons, Frenzy perfume and food boxes, was the answer to the prayers of kindergarten-physicists — a set, complete with vials labeled uranium and plutonium and recipes for whipping up a batch of atomic energy in the bathtub.

Up the hall, grown-up experts in the Atomic Energy Commission weren't showing much progress. In fact, the chances for United Nations' control of atomic energy at the present time are extremely slim. The Working Committee voted 9 to 2 (USSR, Ukraine) to discard the Russian plan for international control of the atom as unworkable since it "ignores the existing technical knowledge of the problem." It adjourned without setting a new meeting date.

The Control Committee decided earlier to adjourn *sine die* when neither East nor West could get together on what sort of a control agency should be set up. The Commission must meet to draw up a third report for the Security Council.

What keeps the East and West apart is not so much the bomb, but the peacetime use of atomic energy. Russia sees in the majority plan a threat of US-dominated monopoly of atomic energy. Even though it would be monopolized by an international agency, the Russians fear discrimination in the allocation of raw materials and technical facilities against nations which might not please the US-led majority on the agency.

But the East and West *do* meet on the establishment of international control. Russia wants it to be under the supervision of the UN through the Security Council. The US wants the agency to operate under the Atomic Energy Commission, outside the jurisdiction of the Security Council and the veto.

Both agree that there should be inspection, they differ in *degree*. Both agree that present stocks of atomic weapons should be destroyed, they differ on *when*.

The Western view recommends that all uranium, thorium, plutonium become the property of the UN control committee. All fissionable material would be allocated by it so that one nation or group of nations could not corner the market and become a potential military threat. This provides broad powers of inspection at any time with no borders barred.

The Soviets do not go so far. They would leave plant operation up to the individual nations but subject to inspection according to specifically defined rules which should be part of an international treaty. The rules would bar unrestricted investigation of a nation's atomic activities.

Inspection would cover mine-to-factory stages, and the agency's control and policing organs would work by majority rule. The veto would be used only in case of violations. In addition, the international control agency would conduct research and be an exchange center for basic information on the peaceful use of atoms.

Another bone of contention is what to do with existing bomb stocks. Russia wants them first destroyed, then a convention signed, outlawing the use of atomic weapons. The Western powers want the order reversed — convention first, destruction of weapons on hand second.

As Commission discussions broke down, a group of American atomic scientists suggested that a moratorium on atomic production might inspire US-USSR compromise. The members of the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education said, "This is no proposal to turn the clock of history back . . . we believe the stoppage of atomic production by agreement will contribute to the security of both halves of the world."

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, headed by Albert Einstein and Harold Urey, have issued a formal warning that a strong world government without Russia if necessary — is the only way to avoid war. The trouble with the UN, they said,

FROM IRAN

TWIN sister of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, chats with Iran's chief delegate, Monstafa Adl. The eye-filling princess wore beflowered milan hat, silk print frock, fabulous pearls, a soft wave in her black hair and a light pink lipstick.

was that there is no surrender of national sovereignty. "The people have tried to have their cake and eat it," observed Dr. Urey, spokesman for the scientists. In the face of the temporary fold-up of UN atomic efforts, they were asked whether the US will go on with research for bigger and better atomic weapons. Dr. Harrison Brown, University of Chicago physicist, said, "a large segment of scientists believe that it is not in the public interest to develop atomic bombs more powerful than the ones we have now." In conclusion, Dr. Urey soberly warned "Atomic bombs have been developed to the point where we can't expect to use them in a large scale war and have the human race survive."

FROM HOLLYWOOD

MADELEINE CARROLL, who aided France's starving during the war, smiles into a United Nations microphone during a broadcast for Children's Appeal.

Nicotine Diplomacy

Elizabeth Arden was being given the Grand Tour through headquarters at Lake Success. Fascinated, she insisted on seeing all 47 square acres of the ex-Sperry plant. One thing bothered her. "What's the difference," she asked, "between a Council and a Committee?" "That's easy," replied the guide. "In a council chamber you're not allowed to smoke. So, when a delegate feels like smoking, he proposes a Committee meeting — and off they trot to special committee rooms where smoking is okay."

UNews Briefs:

• Burma has been approved for UN membership by the Security Council. On April 10, Russia vetoed Italy's application for the third time. Other applications had been reintroduced to the Council for Albania, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Mongolia and Rumania (supported by the East) and for Austria, Eire, Portugal and Transjordan (supported by the West). Since no one had changed their minds since last fall, the Council adjourned without voting on them. Gromyko agreed that Italy has all the qualifications for membership, but he considers the other ex-enemy states — Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Finland — just as worthy and urged their simultaneous admission. Austin attacked this as bargaining . . . beneath the dignity of the Council." (The legality of the Soviet stand is now being studied by the International Court in the Hague). Austin said that he would take the membership question to the General Assembly, asking it to hear all vetoed states on matters concerning them.

• The flower-banked Economic and Social Council chamber was the scene on March 31 of the first funeral to be held at the United Nations. Top UN officials paid tribute to Francois Stefanini. The director of the Bureau of Technical Services in the Department of Conference and General Services, died after a gall bladder operation.

Mr. Stefanini was French. A resistance hero, he later served de Gaulle in charge of colonial and foreign relations for the Free French organization. He joined the United Nations in 1946 where he became a well-known, well-liked director.

• Secretary-General Lie and UN Delegate Austin have signed an agreement whereby the United States will lend $65,000,000 to the UN, interest free. This money, which must first be appropriated by Congress, will build the UN's permanent home on Manhattan's East River. Demolition work on the new site is almost finished. The Headquarters Advisory Committee has recommended that plans be modified to cut construction costs by $3,000,000.

FRANK SINATRA and Jo Davidson exchange a nonpolitical word. Davidson is pro-Wallace, Sinatra is for MacArthur.

DEBORAH KERR and Douglas Fairbanks applaud Asst. to the Secretary General Andrew Cordier who has just told a joke. The stars were guests of the Association for the UN at Lake Success. Fairbanks heads the Association in Los Angeles.

LAUTREC'S *Chocolate Dancing*
Night Life — Jutting-jawed Senegalese, jowly waiter, harpist and hard-hatted gentlemen embody one aspect of Paris.

Famous paintings present six aspects of Paris — UNW's travel editor adds, in words, a seventh and lyrical interpretation of the city's spirit

The First Time You'll See Paris

BY TIBOR KOEVES
Author of "Timetable for Tramps"

Paris has a secret. It speaks with equal emphasis to the mind and the senses. This subtle, inner charm is not difficult to discover if one knows how to seek it. Let me try to tell you what to look for — the unique, intangible, irresistible spirit of the old city on the banks of the Seine.

This is the cardinal rule: You must not *visit* Paris. You must *live* there, even if only for a week. Imagine that you are in Paris to stay. Take leisurely walks, sit in sidewalk cafes watching the passersby, bargain for a bedroom set in a furniture store. Become, insofar as you can, a veritable Parisian. . . .

Past and present have combined to give Paris its own unique precepts, esthetic and moral. The ruling values are clarity of thought and speech, a sense of proportion, a calculated ease of body and mind. Parisians abhor excess. They reject equally the dark passions of the Spaniard, the metaphysical torments of the Teuton, the American reverence for mass production. What remains is grace and simplicity, manifest in the stones of Notre Dame, the lines of a motorcar, the gestures of a midinette, the lecture of a Sorbonne professor.

I shall not forget what Henri Focillon, a great teacher and art historian, once said. Discussing the French spirit, he suddenly stepped to the window and pointed down. "See that baker boy delivering bread?" he asked. "He is a Carthesian."

The learned professor did not mean that the delivery boy had read and adopted the ideas of France's great philosopher, Descartes. Rather he meant that when Descartes said, "I think, therefore I exist," he expressed the innermost instinct of every Frenchman — which is to guide his actions by logic.

SEURAT'S *La Grande Jatte*
Propriety — Captured here is the French fondness for precision, for form, order and contemplative enjoyment of life.

DAUMIER'S *The Print Sellers*
Intellectuality — Even a gamin brouses at a bookstall. Stovepipe hat fixes the date — 1850 — as does the woman's bonnet.

MANET'S *Luncheon on the Grass*
Unconventionality — Nude and seminude girls apicnicking shocked Paris. Clothes and basket are a superb still life.

One of the strangest love letters I ever read bears witness to that instinct. The writer was a bright young Paris businesswoman, secretary to a bank president; the recipient was a close friend of mine who had taken the lady home late the night before.

"My dear Pierre," the letter read. "Thank you for a very pleasant evening. The little Russian restaurant is delightful, the music was excellent and your place is charming. My only regret is that you've taken my bracelet. It really isn't worth it, and I'm only making an issue of it because it's a gift from Mother. I hope to see you soon. Until then, please return the bracelet. Love, Madeleine."

Pierre explained to me that Madeleine had put on the bracelet in his room but had dropped it later in front of her house. The *concierge* found it in the morning, but she already had left for work. Hence her assumption of petty larceny.

But with what nonchalance was the accusation leveled! Can you picture anyone but a Parisienne writing such a note? Madeleine's attitude would appear downright immoral in an Anglo-Saxon country — she was not even angry with Pierre.

After all, such things were known to happen. The fact that it (as Madeleine thought) had happened to her and not to a neighbor was no reason for losing her sense of proportion. She did not want to jeopardize a delightful personal relationship; she merely wanted the bracelet back.

Such absence of ponderousness, such willingness to reduce complicated problems to their simplest elements, are typical French traits. In essence they may be what attracts millions of people of every nationality to Paris. All over the world more people succumb to complicated con-

RENOIR'S *Moulin Galette* — Bourgeois Beauty — The Paris of this famous impressionist, whether to a child with bangs, a waltzing, bustled charmer or a straw hatted, bearded blade, is summery and joyous.

City of Intellectuality and Gastronomy

ventions and psychological conflicts than to heart disease, cancer and automobile accidents together. The antidote to much of this irrational confusion lies in the French compulsion to follow every thought to its logical conclusion.

Not even war, defeat, occupation and their consequences have destroyed the eternal characteristics of Paris and the Parisians.

Take the *petit bourgeois*, a man of regular habits and deliberate enjoyment of the moment. Events have interfered with many of his habits, curtailed most of his enjoyments. Yet his outlook and philosophy are unimpaired. Just watch him as he enters his favorite *bistro*. . . .

Once his tablecloth would have been gleaming linen; now it is a napkin of doubtful cleanliness. Once he would have ordered a broiled steak with plenty of potatoes; now he is lucky to get a small piece of rickety rabbit. But, watching him, you would not know the difference. Time stands still as Monsieur takes his dinner.

Gripping his fork almost at the tines, he chews lustily, looking up from time to time with pleasure-dimmed eyes. He sniffs his red wine before drinking, as if to whet his senses against the moment of delight. The meager repast ended, he blows hard and swallows once or twice. Then he lights his cigar and, sipping his coffee deliberately, smiles to himself with quiet approval.

Monsieur rarely is ill. If he catches cold, he puts a mustard-plaster on his chest and a tumbler-like *ventouse*, inherited from his grandmother, on his back. In music he can pick out only marches. But at any mention of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" he pricks up his ears. For them he sometimes lays down his life.

Nor have events fundamentally upset the lives of the highest classes, the nobles, academicians and diplomats. Once their favorite topics were society, literature, porcelains, horses; today there is more talk of the Marshall Plan and the Iron Curtain. But the women of this circle still hold to the idea that another, better age laid down for all time the rules of manners, etiquette and speech. They still have their châteaux, deep with gorgeous gardens. They dress beautifully, read every book and practice the traditional refinements of love.

At the other extreme are the workers. They live in the suburbs, the famous "Red belt." They are no newcomers to the revolutionary scene. Their forebears made up the cohorts of the *sans-culottes;* their grandfathers were shot after the first Commune in 1870.

CHAGALL'S *Through the Window*
Feline women and two-faced men, horizontal intellectuals, topsy turvy industry — this is one modern's view of Gay Paris.

All through the three great classes circulates the most vital group, the real leaders — writers, newspapermen, doctors, lawyers. Threadbare and eloquent, they come from Brittany, Auvergne, Provence, Lorraine. For the last hundred years they have been attracted to Paris by the new gold rush, democracy, and have toiled there to build a new world by word, pen and reason.

The loveliest thing about Paris is the pleasant balance of life. Political, artistic and literary controversies are of equal importance. In this beautiful month of May, 1948, the city is excited jointly by the success of the Paris Fair, by the Olympic Games eliminations and by the breathtaking exhibition in the Pavillon Marsan of the Louvre.

The Fair is a pageant of the exquisite objects which in France are called *articles de Paris* — fine books, bronzes, perfumes, the glories of the *haute couture* — along with functional modern creations in plastics and machinery. The Olympic trials will last the month out; from them will emerge the proud young athletes who will represent France at the World Olympic Games in London in August. The exhibition at the Louvre marks the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Fine Arts and offers a unique collection of French art of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

A particular charm of Paris is her special flair for taking serious things lightly and light things seriously. Night clubs, for example, are not prohibitive places reserved for a dubious cafe society or for black marketeers; they are part of the life of the poorest classes. The *midinettes* and workers have their Bal Musettes. The bad boys around the Bastille dance their *java* in the dim rooms of the Rue de Lappe. Students and artists can choose from scores of small *boites* in Montparnasse and the Quartier Latin.

For Paris likes to dance. She also likes to paint, write novels, make subtle motion pictures. She may have lost her once decisive influence in world politics, but those who like to think that man is not exclusively a political animal still hold with the old Spanish saying:

"Every man has two countries — his own, and Paris."

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

THE HOTEL SITUATION IS TOUGH BUT BETTER TAKE CARE — THE IRISH ARE COMING WHERE YOU NEED VISAS AND WHERE YOU DON'T

No Visa is required for American visitors to Demark, Luxemboug, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland. Belgium and Italy issue visas without a charge. The United Kingdom and Ireland charge $2 each, Portugal $3.67 (also demanding a certificate of vaccination), France $4.31, Spain $10.20.

3000 Americans will tour Europe in their own cars this summer according to the latest estimates. There will be no gasoline shortage. Fuel is not rationed in Switzerland or in Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. Great Britain allows extra gas for tourists — enough to cover 1,000 miles in the first month. Tourists in France, Italy, Spain also get special rations. Price varies from 40 to 60 cents a gallon in Western Europe. Shipping a car to Europe costs between $480 and $650.

The French have started autobus tours from Paris to the battle fields of World War II.

Widespread Celebrations are planned for Holland this year observing the golden anniversary of the reign of Queen Wilhelmina. The Queen plans to attend a gala concert to be held on her birthday, August 31.

With the Opening of Ireland House at 33, East 50th Street, New York City, Eire officially enters competition for the American tourist's dollar. Officials concede that it is too late for them to increase greatly travel to Ireland this season, but they will make determined efforts to channel tens of thousands of visitors into the Emerald Island next year.

Notwithstanding wartime devastation, hotels in both France and England are ready and eager to receive the 100,000 visitors each of these countries expects this year. In France, with the dollar at 300 francs, you will be able to get a room in a de luxe hotel for about $6 plus around 20% for service and taxes. In a first-rate hotel a single room will cost about $3 and a double room $5, exclusive for service charge. In England de luxe service comes high. A single room in the Ritz will set you back from $11 to $15 a night, and a double room from $16 to $22. First-rate hotels, like the Strand Palace, will charge approximately $3 for a single, and $5 for a double. Outside London $2.50 to $3 will buy bed and breakfast.

POWER PLANT linking Mediterranean and artificial freshwater lake in Africa.

GERMAN ENGINEER PROPOSES —

To Irrigate the Sahara . . .

Enlarge Europe . . .

Create Undreamed of Power

and Assure Future World Peace by

BOTTLING UP THE MEDITERRANEAN

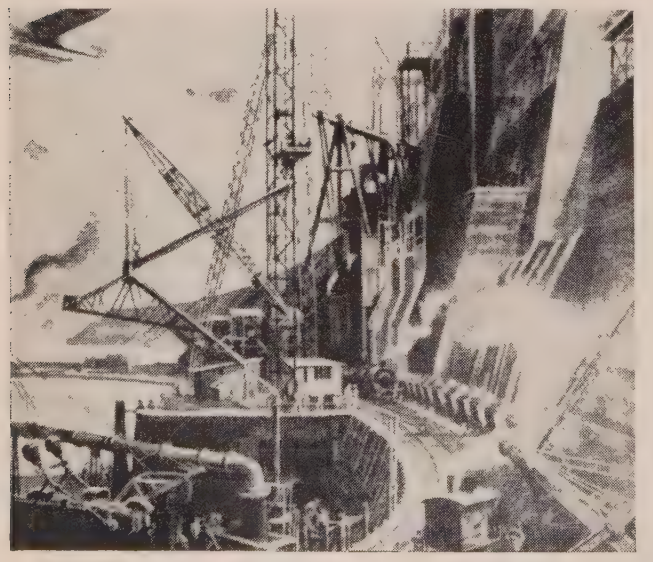
A Dam at Gibraltar

It sounds like a dream. It is a dream. But engineers call it practicable. The idea is to dam the Mediterranean at Gibraltar to join Europe and Africa, create thousands of square miles of productive new land, harness hydroelectric power for the energy needs of two continents, irrigate the Sahara Desert and make of North Africa a granary capable of feeding millions.

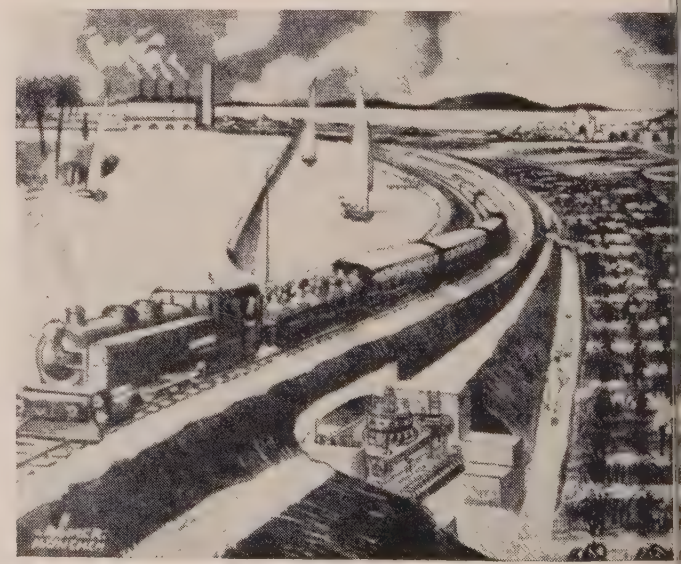
A project of such magnitude has never been proposed before, though there have been earlier proposals merely to dam off the Mediterranean. The Gibraltar hydroelectric project is, literally, stupendous.

And it will be incredibly expensive. The Strait of Gibraltar is eight to 13 miles wide, 1,200 feet deep at mid-channel. Since the Mediterranean loses far more moisture by evaporation than it gains from its tributary rivers, its waters must be replenished from the Atlantic; this means a steady flow through the Strait, with strong currents complicated by the effects of tide and storm. Erecting a dam under these conditions — a dam high, broad and strong enough to withstand oceanic pressures and endure for generations — would take many billions of dollars, untold man-hours, very possibly 50 or more years in actual construction time.

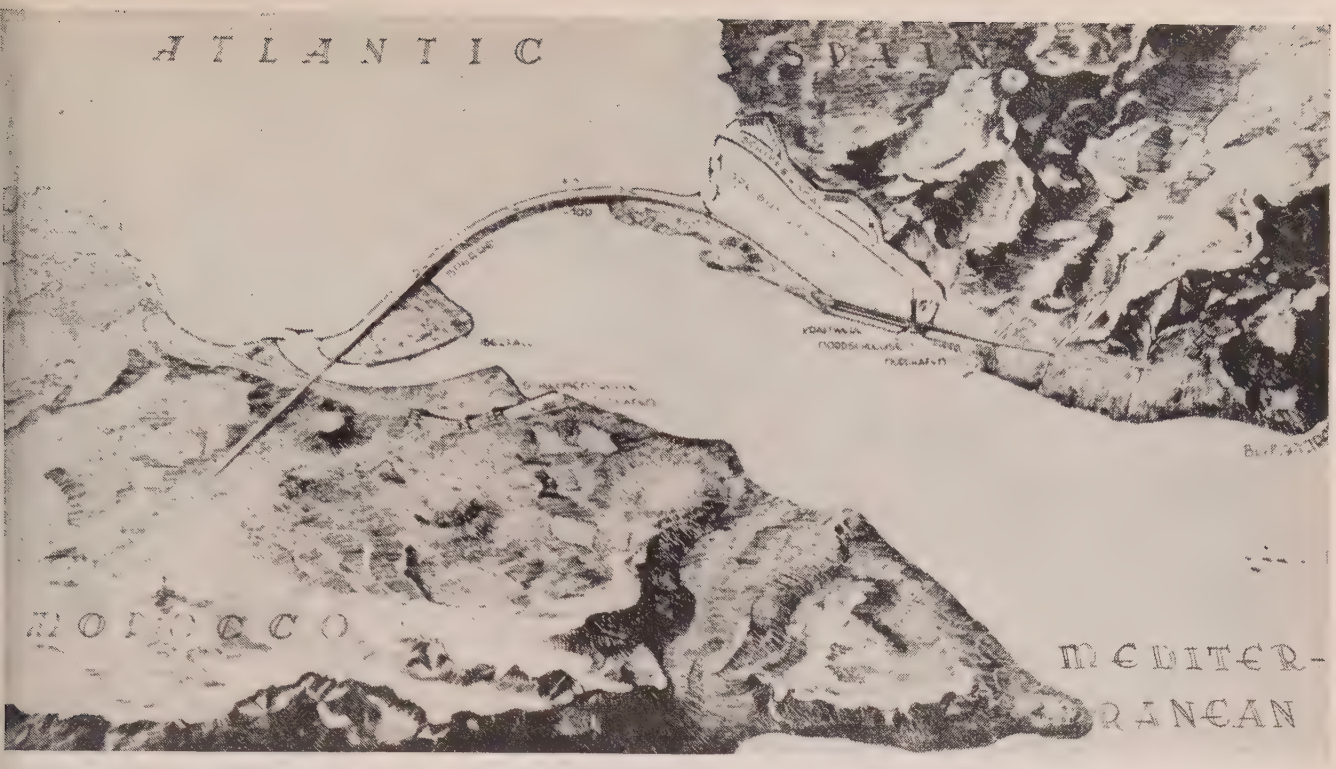
One certain result of such a dam would be the cutting off of Britain's "lifeline" route to the Middle and Far East. This would be the result whether the dam were or were not supplemented by a canal with locks for the passage of ocean-going merchant and war vessels.



THE DAM would require great quantities of steel, concrete, dredges, booms, other machines—and the world's best engineers.



THE SAHARA of the future could look like this, irrigated with Mediterranean water pumped inland through desalting filters.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW of Atlantropa. Canals connect Mediterranean and Atlantic.

Yet the benefits would more than counter-balance Britain's loss. With the present insurge from the Atlantic cut to a comparative trickle, the level of the Mediterranean would sink, the countries that border it would grow, the whole southern face of Europe would change. This would involve wholesale shifts in cities, ports, rail lines, highways and other man-made works; but the change would be slow — and the new soil would furnish dwelling space and livelihood for millions now jammed into the cities and pinched littorals of Italy and other southern European countries.

At the same time, the master hydro-electric stations at Gibraltar — and others in such great river valleys as that of the Rhone — would exploit the controlled flow of water. Just as plentiful, cheap electric power has transformed the region served by America's TVA, so would it enrich southwestern Europe and northwestern Africa. Vast new industries would be possible. North Africa's untapped mineral resources would become available. New cities and farming areas would be born. The living standards, purchasing power and welfare and population of whole nations would be multiplied many-fold.

Then would come the building of power pumping plants, the digging of canals to lead some of the Mediterranean's water into low-lying areas of the northern Sahara. De-salting filters would make the water usable for irrigation. Great stretches of fertile but now idle land, enough to feed millions of North Africans and Europeans, would be open to the plow.

With all this would come a political reorientation. The new importance of countries like Morocco and Algeria, cities like Tangier and Tunis, would alter the relationships between Europeans and Africa's Arabs. Within Europe, of course, there would be competition for the new power, and great possibilities of friction. Should the whole continent or only the Mediterranean nations profit from the Gibraltar dam? Who would apportion power, light, irrigation? Who would decide the rate of lowering the Mediterranean, the speed of developing the Sahara? Who would own the dam in the first place? Who manage it? Who pay for it?

Logical answers are proposed by a visionary Bavarian who probably has given more thought to the whole scheme than anyone else alive. His name is Hermann Soergel. He was born into a liberal Munich family, grew up to see Europe wrecked by two world wars, pondered the pitfalls to international cooperation on the level of theory, evolved a plan on the practical level which he now is trying to "sell" to the world. Unlike many dreamers, Soergel has had his plan reviewed by some of the best engineers in Europe. They have assured him it will work.

Briefly, Soergel envisages a kind of international TVA for the Gibraltar dam. He calls it Atlantropa, and has gone so far as to set up an organization, the Atlantropa Union, to work for it. Soergel would place Atlantropa under the supervision of the United Nations, as one of its specialized agencies devoted to the maintenance of peace. A check on the military freedom of the member countries of Atlantropa would be inherent in its control over their physical power. Should any member turn in aggression against another, a flip of a switch would cut off much (or conceivably all) of its electricity. Thus the welfare of all the members would depend on the enlightened self-interest of each.

Since Soergel's vision still is in the drawing-board stage (four sketches appear on these pages), obviously many details remain to be worked out. Yet there seems no valid reason why every point could not be discussed and resolved if the interested nations were so inclined.

And there seems little reason why they should not be so inclined. Harnessing Gibraltar for mankind's good does sound like a dream, but in this 20th century no dream — not even that of cooperation among nations — is quite impossible.

Europe's New Start

In 1947 the US did more trade with Western Europe (the 16 Marshall Plan countries) than any other nation in history — $4,652,721,560. In 1948 under ERP, this trade will exceed even that impressive record.

It is too early to estimate exactly the '48 total, but the 5,300,000,000 new dollars ERP will put into the hands of European buyers insures a rise of at least $650,000,000. The new figure will represent an increase of close to 500 per cent in 10 years. In 1938, the last full prewar peacetime year, the total was $1,070,000,000.

An analysis of these staggering figures reveals virtually unlimited business potentialities for private industry. Congress has bought American business the biggest booth in the richest market in the world.

Somewhat muting enthusiasm for the future which ERP promises, are old problems and new emergency requirements of the US domestic economy. The protracted shortage of steel, partly caused by unused production capacity, will be felt even more keenly as the military establishment increases its claim to the steel output. Strains on US production will be exaggerated by pressures for more aid to China and by the persisting Latin clamor for a hemispheric Marshall Plan.

ERP will achieve its promises of sustained prosperity in America and healthy reconstruction in Europe only if peace is maintained. Administrator Paul G. Hoffman recognized this basic fact and gave it emphatic voice last fall in United Nations World: "US Business Needs Peace," he declared in our November issue. It needs it perhaps even more today.

Another point in Hoffman's thoughtful article is given greater significance by his new assignment which has been called "the most important job in the world." Said Hoffman: "The day to which all of us should look forward is not a time when US exports to the war-torn countries shall drop drastically, but a time when their exports to us (or the rest of the world) rise to bring our trade into balance. If we can reach that goal, we shall have established a stable system of international trade that will go on giving benefits to all nations. Trade on that basis would contribute more to world peace than all the treaties and alliances of history. For poverty and depression threaten peace wherever they occur."

US trade is still a long way from Hoffman's goal. In 1947, US imports from the 16 ERP countries amounted to $690,000,000, as against $417,000,000 in 1938. Although this was an increase of 65.4 per cent, the discrepancy (between exports and imports) is still over 400 per cent.

The trade needed to balance the gargantuan growth of US exports can come only with the rehabilitation of Europe's industries. Once production is in full swing, which may not be for four or five years, the 16 ERP countries will be producing enough for export to balance the goods they will still need to import.

Several vital problems raised by ERP — currency stability, gold and dollar reserves, shipping, taxation of US earnings in foreign currencies, etc. — are indicated and digested in the tables, charts and articles in the World Business Section.

EXCHANGE RATES		RESERVES			VOLUME OF TRADE (WITH U.S.A.)			
Official rates to the dollar		*Gold*	*Foreign Exchange*	*Total Reserves*	*1938 Imports from U. S.*	*1947 Imports from U.S.*	*1938 Exports to U. S.*	*1947 Exports to U. S.*
AUSTRIA‡	*9.86 sch.*	5.0	5.7	11	746,000	38,996,129	1,271,000	4,378,916
BELGIUM	*43.70 fr.*	597	291	888	76,942,000	535,889,429	41,694,000	58,613,09[illegible]
DENMARK	*4.79 kr.*	32	44	76	24,814,000	78,404,510	3,324,000	5,132,74[illegible]
EIRE	*$4.04 = £*	11	16	27	27,259,000	88,818,675	958,000	2,782,80[illegible]
FRANCE	*214 fr.*	548	52 (est.)	600 (est.)	133,872,000	820,795,000	54,009,000	46,972,000
GREECE	*5.000 drach.*	20	64	84	8,052,000	166,648,889	14,873,000	16,555,56[illegible]
ICELAND	*6.47 kr.*	1.0	2.7	3.8	131,000	15,748,548	1,206,000	3,094,33[illegible]
ITALY	*574 li. (expt. rate)*	28	29	57	58,292,000	491,528,000	41,241,000	44,090,000
LUXEMBOURG†	*43.70 fr.*		19.7	19.7	*Volume of trade included with Belgium.*			
NETHERLANDS	*2.63 guilder*	232	100	332	96,732,000	385,375,000	31,448,000	26,464,000
NORWAY	*4.96 kr.*	75	76	151	22,567,000	146,958,000	15,688,000	22,109,000
PORTUGAL	*25 escudos*		48	48	10,950,000	94,844,000	3,982,000	20,975,000
SWEDEN	*3.59 kr.*	105	41	146	64,227,000	398,576,000	45,105,000	92,618,000
SWITZERLAND	*4.28 fr.*	1,356	24	1,380	10,596,000	194,285,059	23,037,000	83,380,96[illegible]
TURKEY	*2.80 Turkish £*	170	99	269	13,218,000	82,067,321	18,958,000	57,225,07[illegible]
U. K.	*$4.03¼ = £*			2,000*	520,878,000	1,113,790,000	118,240,000	205,076,000
GERMANY‡					107,130,000		64,550,000	

† Short term assets in the U.S. * Gold and short term assets. ‡ (After May 6, 1938, Austria trade included with Germany.)

EXCHANGE, RESERVE AND TRADE. The first column indicates the state of currencies before ERP. Mostly soft and shaky, they may now stiffen. Second, third and fourth columns show that only the Swiss gained gold during the war. The last four columns show that, while exports to Britain little more than doubled since 1938, there was a 20-fold increase in exports to Greece

U. S. Taxation Of Foreign Income

The following article was written by Sidney I. Roberts, CPA, lawyer and tax consultant and expert in the field of foreign exchange transactions.—ED.

The necessity for reconstruction of devastated areas, the need for American capital for that purpose, efforts of the US Government to reduce import barriers, and above all the ERP, will tend to stimulate travel, business and investment abroad. This circumstance creates a double quandary — one for businessmen, one for the government — which demands solution under the Federal Income Tax Law.

The Internal Revenue Code of the US Federal Tax Law is as yet unprepared to cope with the problem of taxing income accrued to US citizens in foreign currencies. Application of some of the language of the statute, obviously adopted without regard to the peculiarities of transactions in foreign currencies, has led to much uncertainty and litigation.

It is easy to foresee that multi-currency transactions are bound to expand considerably in scope. More and more businessmen will be buying and selling goods abroad, investing, lending and borrowing or operating branches or subsidiaries in foreign countries.

For example, on the question of computing the income of a foreign branch, there is only one case, decided by a single judge of the Federal District Court of Connecticut, almost 20 years ago.

This decision *recognized* the loss of a foreign branch based on the decline of value of foreign currency in the course of the year. The Court's opinion revealed its confusion and was admittedly of the "novel impression." It cited no authorities —legal, tax or accounting.

The Magill Report

To draft this report, the House Ways and Means Committee appointed a 10-man committee, headed by chairman Roswell Magill, professor of law at Columbia University, and vice-chairman Gov. Frank Carson, of Kansas.

The Magill report comprises a comprehensive analysis of the very complex picture of the US Internal Revenue Code, with particular examination of deficiencies and inequities. It makes numerous recommendations for clarification of regulations in existing statutes. However, its recommendations, despite their importance, may not receive consideration until the close of the year when the new Revenue acts are drawn.

The Nov. 5, 1947, report of Professor Magill to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives recommended, among other things, that the Internal Revenue Code be clarified to provide that foreign income should be taxable only when it can be transmitted to the United States *in dollars*.

The report thus brought up the problem of blocked currencies — when and in what amount incomes earned in blocked currencies shall be included in gross income subject to tax.

The postwar period abounds in an infinite variety of governmental controls on currencies throughout the world. Of necessity, the treatment of foreign currency in the Federal Income Tax Law must vary with the nature of the currency regulation in effect at the particular time of the transaction and it may vary with the individual as it pertains to the particular taxpayer.

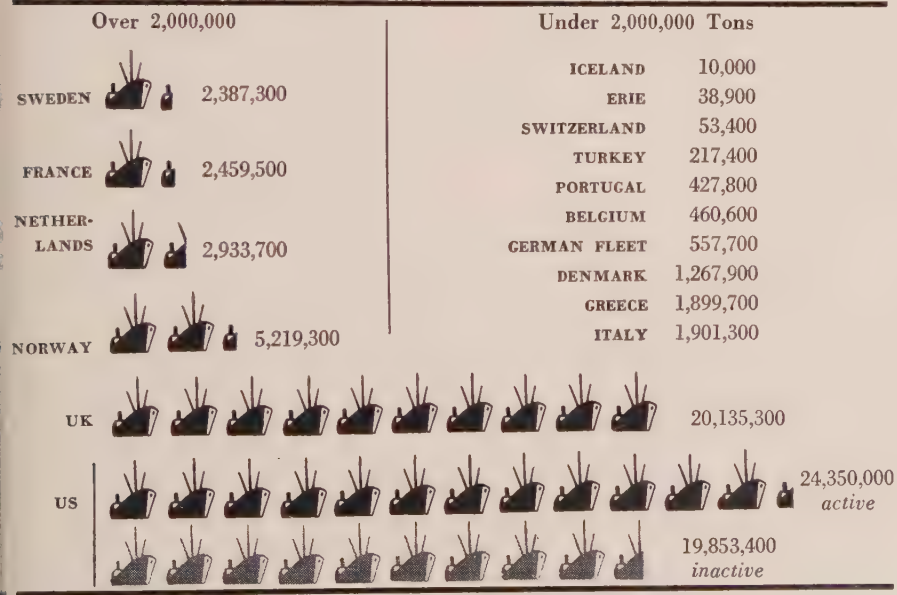
A general ruling cannot be made as to the treatment of income received in restricted or blocked currency. The solution of any individual problem would require first a factual study of the restrictions on the foreign currency in question at the relevant time, and second a study of the relevant published decisions. From the few cases on record, a simple rule seems to emerge: The taxpayer must have the power to convert his foreign currency holdings into dollars, if he is to be subjected to tax on his foreign currency holdings, to tax on the receipt of blocked currencies.

For example, in the International Mortgage case (36 BPA 187 1937) the decision held the receipt of German marks in Germany was not taxable since there existed no US market for marks at the time.

In the Credit & Investment Corp. case (47 BPA 673 1942) the decision held the receipt of German marks *was* taxable since there did exist a market for the marks in New York.

Even this rule however has had some doubt cast upon its validity by a subsequent decision in the EDER case. In a decision of the Tax Court of the United States, upheld by the 2nd Federal Circuit Court in New York, it was established that the undistributed income of a foreign personal holding company, US owned, *is* subject to taxation, on the grounds that the specific provisions of the code pertaining to foreign personal holding companies, prevent application of the rules generally applicable

SHIPS: ERP'S LIFELINE (Deadweight Tonnage)



ERP's LIFELINE: 6,674,400 more tons of merchant shipping than before the war are available to carry US goods to Western Europe, and its goods to other regions. The US leads with 24,350,000 tons. Another 19,853,400 US tons are inactive but in good repair.

to the taxability of foreign income. The courts held that even if the owner of blocked currency could not legally have sold it for dollars, he could have invested or spent it and was therefore subject to taxation. These decisions may portend a new trend in the treatment of blocked currencies, i.e. receipts in foreign currency may be considered as taxable income despite the fact that they cannot be converted into dollars.

The above decisions were based on the premise that the foreign currency was blocked at the time it was credited to the account of the taxpayer. In many instances, the currency was not blocked until some time in the taxable year after its receipt. The Board of Tax Appeal held that funds received prior to the date on which the currency was blocked were taxable, since those funds could have been withdrawn and converted into dollars.

Whether nontaxable blocked currency becomes taxable as income received on the date it is unblocked is a question about which there is considerable doubt.

No decision dealing with blocked currencies appears to have disposed of this problem. The Magill report appears to recommend that at the time it is unblocked, and prior to any disposition of the currency, blocked currency be considered income. This recommendation, if followed, could impose a serious injustice on taxpayers in the future. For, when blocked currency represents several years accumulation, the unblocking would make the entire amount taxable in one year, thereby to offer increasing tax rates.

Dealings in Currencies

Dealers in the purchase and sale to customers of foreign currency are in the same position as dealers in other commodities, and are subject to the same rules. Foreign currency represents inventory and may be valued at either cost or market, whichever happens to be lower. Where the taxpayer is merely a trader or investor transacting in foreign exchange, the right to inventory is denied. In this case, gains and losses in foreign currency transactions are recognized only when the foreign currency is disposed of.

In the case of *purchases* requiring payment in foreign exchange, the cost of the goods acquired is valued at the rate of exchange on the date of purchase, regardless of the rate at date of payment.

Payment received in foreign currency for services rendered by a recipient must be included in income at the rate of exchange on date of receipt. With respect to foreign investments, where bonds payable in foreign currency or stocks in foreign corporations are purchased for investment, no gain or loss is realized until the securities are sold or become worthless. If the taxpayer lends money repayable in foreign currency, no deduction is allowed because of a decline in rate of exchange. Dividends in foreign currency are convertible at the rate of exchange at the date of receipt, whether the taxpayer is on a cash or accrual basis.

Conclusions

Despite the strides made in Federal income tax accounting in other fields, problems of serious significance remain to be solved in the field of taxation of funds derived from transactions on foreign currency. The relocation of war refugees and displaced persons in this country, many of whom retain interests in their country of origin, governmental management of currencies and the fluctuation in value of foreign currencies resulting from the war and its aftermath, all stress the urgency of clarification of United States tax rulings.

Some of the deficiencies which urgently require resolution are:

1. Equitable tax treatment for Blocked Currencies. When blocked currency becomes available for conversion into dollars, it should be valued at the rate at which the particular taxpayer is able to convert it into dollars.

2. Clarification of tax treatment of foreign branches, on which — as has been said — there is only one 20 year old decision.

3. Whether gain or loss on dispostion of foreign currency should be considered *capital gain* or *loss*, or *ordinary income* or *loss*.

4. Income received from repayment of loans, by their terms payable in foreign currencies, should be treated in the same manner as short sales of property.

Business and Social Motives Combine in ITO

A combination of profit-and-service motives took precedence over national sovereignty in the ITO Conference which ended March 24 in Havana.

There delegates from 58 nations, representing 90 per cent of world business, committed themselves to a gradual abandonment of restrictions on international trade.

On March 24 in Havana the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment was signed by 53 nations. The signing was the culmination of four months of laborious negotiations and close bargaining, devoted to forging an instrument to promote freer flow of world trade.

The USSR was the only great power absent from the conference. Of those present only Argentina, Poland and Turkey refused to sign. Finland and Paraguay could not sign, since their delegates were merely observers.

The Charter, of 106 articles, will be brought into force either if ratified by a majority of the signatories before April, 1949, or, failing this, upon ratification at any time by 20 governments.

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The ITO will then become a full-fledged specialized, autonomous agency of the UN, functioning in close cooperation with the Economic and Social Council.

The ITO conference, convoked to revise and amend the 1946 Geneva draft, hit several major snags. The most serious was the difference of opinion between the highly industrialized nations, led by the US, and the less developed countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa. The US wanted tariff barriers lowered and other obstacles to world trade eliminated. Younger industrial nations demanded the right to impose import quotas, preferential tariffs and other protections for infant industries.

A compromise was finally reached which, in some cases, allows the use of restrictive measures and preferential tariffs under rules laid down by the ITO Charter.

A country may, for instance, take measures to protect underdeveloped industries established between 1940 and the date of the conference.

Preferential agreements must be limited to contiguous territories or countries in the same economic region.

War-damaged countries, like the underdeveloped areas, claimed the right to impose restrictions to speed reconstruction and rehabilitation. The ITO conference made similar concessions in their cases.

Outside of such exceptions, an ITO majority must approve in advance all restrictive measures.

"Soft-currency" countries with balance-of-payment difficulties presented a third special problem. British spokesmen insisted that their country, and others in like predicament, must continue for some time to make bilateral trade and payment agreements for essential goods and requested leeway in import and export quotas.

After a three-week stalemate, the conference agreed that until March 1, 1952, "soft-currency" countries could restrict imports from and direct exports to such "hard-currency" countries as, for example, the US.

Absence of Russia

Absence of the USSR from the ITO conference was uppermost in the minds of the delegates when they attempted to reach agreement on another touchy point — the relations between member and non-member nations. The US pressed for a strong provision compelling member states to withhold tariff concessions from non-members — in the hope of thus spurring recruitment of additional members. The opposition of Czechoslovakia and Poland, which have close trade relations with Russia, and that of Chile and Uruguay, which border on and trade with Argentina, resulted in a compromise permitting members to maintain economic relations with non-members. However, they must not discriminate against other members, though member states remain free to discriminate against non-members.

Once the ITO is set up, its members will begin laying the foundation for an over-all reduction of tariffs and the extension of the most-favored-nation policy to include all members.

ITO's Powers

ITO is empowered to determine whether member nations live up to their obligations. Consultation or arbitration will be the first step in settling a grievance or dispute. Unsettled disputes may be referred to the Executive Board, with a possible appeal to the Conference. The ITO may request from the International Court of Justice advisory opinions on legal questions. Member states are bound not to take any steps other than those provided for in the Charter.

Representatives of both highly industrialized and less developed nations will be included in the ITO's Executive Board which will function between its international conferences. An Interim Commission was set up to administer ITO affairs until the first annual ITO conference, expected to be held late in 1949. Britain, Canada, France, the Benelux customs union and the United States are the "Big Five" of the new organization who will have permanent executive seats in the ITO itself as well as in the Interim Commission. They total close to 60 per cent of world trade.

China and India are in second group which was also to include Russia. Mexico, Brazil, Columbia, El Salvador, Egypt, the Philippines, Norway, Australia, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Greece complete the 18-nation Executive Board.

After March 1, 1952, if peace is preserved and ERP is successful, the ITO should be ready to pilot world business in freeflowing trade.

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Aviation's Business Curve Tends to Level Off

It is too early — or too late — to write off overseas aviation. It is becoming less of an adventure, more of a business.

Starry-eyed postwar enthusiasm subsided markedly during 1947. Late in the year US airlines were flying 5 per cent less of the world's scheduled air miles than they had the year before; the US share had dropped from 64 per cent to 59 per cent. In 1947, too, US airlines increased their operations in air miles only 9 per cent over 1946. Foreign lines, slower to start, made a 35 per cent gain.

International airlines find that news events make their business bulge or shrink unpredictably. American Overseas Airlines, which in 1947 was busy transporting fräuleins to be GI brides, has this year been rushing people to Saudi Arabia (see page 20). Recently, when one of its planes, slightly off course, was barely struck by flak, Trans World discontinued service into Palestine temporarily.

International aviation is not only an unpredictable business — it has also been a poorly paying one. At 1947's close TWA congratulated itself on a loss — smaller than last year's but still a formidable $8 million.

The 1946 loss was $14 million and five million of its 1947 loss occurred in the first quarter — before it combined its domestic and international operations. The rest of the loss it attributes primarily to low airmail rates.

AOA, which had made a profit of $785,000 on its foreign flights in 1946, came through with a loss of $1.7 million for last year. It also attributed most of its loss to airmail rates. (Tentative increases which may total $5,271,000 a year were granted by CAB in April to American, Eastern, Northwest, TWA and United.)

Pan Am, which before the war was the only U. S. foreign carrier of any size, made a profit of $2.9 million — mainly on its Latin American mail contracts. These were at a higher rate than those for other routes; and Latin American was the only operational division on which Pan Am did not have rate proceedings pending before the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Government-owned and subsidized airlines made similarly poor financial showing. Air France, reported that it was making only 90 per cent of expenses. The Irish Aer Lingus had a deficit of a half million. Sabena of Belgium made $2.8 million in 1946, and only a half million in 1947 — a decline caused by equipment purchases last year.

Britain's BOAC, which had come through with a whacking $32 million deficit in 1946, was still in the red because of a top-heavy organization and use of a number of uneconomic types of aircraft.

The Fever Cools

International aviation is calming down to a less heated and frantic business. The fever for expanding has cooled among U. S. airlines. Gone are the days when every airline latched onto any routes it could. Now the problem before all of the companies is to make established operations pay.

TWA has additional route applications before CAB, as do most of the airlines, but for once it is not pressing for action on them. AOA — the U. S. airline certified to go into Russia — had not yet been able to fly the whole of its allotted routes. The only current hot route debate is Pan Am's attempt to get domestic routes to add to its 94,000 miles of international routes.

As international airlines advance into their third year of postwar operation, certain conclusions can be drawn:

Big sprawling U. S. lines have a few more years before they get the kinks out of their systems and probably a few more years of losses or small profits. But air traffic is one form of international transportation in which the U. S. can hold its own.

Airlines are trying to adapt orthodox business procedure to their operations. The new overseas U. S. airlines, once jealously independent, now are beginning to see the wisdom of co-operating with foreign airlines.

Tempo of Business In the Ancient East

An American businessman whose affairs are not confined to one country reports the following experiences in three English-speaking nations:

It took him 20 months of negotiations in England to obtain government permission to manufacture his product there.

He has been working on the Australians for 32 months — and still hasn't got all matters cleared up.

A few months ago, on one of his journeys to Australia, he took a side trip to India, saw an opportunity and took steps to grab it. Seventy days later he had from the Indian government specific instructions as to how he should operate.

A man of literary leanings, our informant concludes his report with this neat, ironic comment: "This uncouth haste on the part of the Indians, as contrasted to the more decorous behavior of our Anglo-Saxon friends, is perhaps a good indication of what a backward race the Indians really are."

PRINCIPAL OVERSEAS AIRLINES

	Scheduled Plane Miles Weekly 1947	Length of Route In Miles	Number of Planes
U.S.			
United	1,355,700	10,655	156
TWA (dom. & for.)	1,221,871	32,513	132
Pan American	1,190,861	94,517	121
Panagra	125,366	10,666	22
Northwest	407,969	18,000	50
American Overseas	185,881	9,066	17
American Airlines	1,203,674	19,457	153
OTHER			
BOAC	493,836	63,143	128
Air France	365,969	132,000	150
KLM	347,915	57,000	79
Trans Canada	299,372	11,072	58
Sabena	155,748	33,760	58
Pavair do Brasil	121,875	23,000	30

TABLE SHOWS that US lines fly more than twice as many miles as non-US companies — including the Australian, and some other lines, not contained in this table.

WORLD FILES

NETHERLANDS-ARGENTINE TREATY
FRANCE SIGNS WITH SWISS, ITALY, POLAND
EAST-WEST TRIESTE STATEMENTS

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63:48 Dutch-Yugoslav Pact

March 1, The Hague

1. Three year trade agreement for exchange of goods valued at 100,000,000 guilders (about $38,000,000).

64:84 British-Finnish Trade Pact

March 2, London

1. Finland to send Britain 190,000 tons of chemical wood pulp, 30,000 to 40,000 tons of mechanical wood pulp and 150,000 cubic fathom of pit props as well as others timber products.

2. Britain to supply 500,000 tons of coal and coke and 40,000 tons of steel.

65:48 U.S.S.R.-Egyptian Barter Pact

March 3, Cairo

The Soviet Union to exchange 216,000 tons of wheat and 19,000 tons of corn for 38,000 tons of Egyptian cotton within the next four months.

Note: This is the first treaty to be completed between the two countries.

66:48 British-Guatemalan Exchange

(Continued from World Files 34:48)

British Note

March 3, London

British note accused Guatemalan Government of allowing a "disgraceful" demonstration against the British Legation in Guatemala on March 2.

British Note

March 4, London

A second British note to Guatemala rejects any implication that British control of British Honduras is illegal and renews the British offer to bring conflicting British and Guatemalan claims before the International Court of Justice.

Guatemalan Order

March 5, Guatemala

Order closes border with British Honduras, prohibits traffic and communication across it with exceptions in special (travel) cases.

67:48 Argentine-Chilean Pact

March 4, Santiago

Both countries will "act by common agreement in the protection and judicial defense of rights in South American Antarctica, in which territories both recognize unquestioned sovereign rights."

2. They will continue "administrative action, exploration, vigilance and development in the undefined boundary region in their respective Antarctic zones in a spirit of reciprocal co-operation. Negotiations for a definitive boundary agreement will be carried on this year.

Note: The agreement is limited to territory between the 25th and 90th meridians and is not concerned with the Falklands.

68:48 U.S. Bars Soviet Satellites From London Meetings

March 5, Washington

Requests of the Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Polish governments for representation at the London meeting of the U.S., Britain and France on Western German problems were rejected by the U.S. State Department.

69:48 Soviet Note to U.S., Britain and France

March 6, Moscow

1. Charged three Western powers with deliberately trying to liquidate the Council of Foreign Ministers.

2. It further charged that the U.S. had decided to:

(a) "Split Europe into two camps."

(b) "Include schismatic western Germany in the Western bloc," in order to build up "a military potential in the Ruhr."

(c) Turn "Westrn Europe into a strategic base for American imperialism in Europe with the purpose of aggression against the U.S.S.R."

3. Charged the Western powers with playing "into the hands of every sort of war instigator."

4. Accused the Western powers of violating the Potsdam agreements and maintained that the U.S.S.R. had carried out the provisions of these pacts.

70:48 British-Italian Treaties

March 9, Rome

A series of three financial agreements to implement an annex of the Italian peace treaty. They stipulate that the lira will continue to be legal currency in Trieste Free State and the Italian Government will supply Trieste the necessary financial facilities for international trade.

71:48 British-Transjordan Pact

March 15, Amman

1. Replacing the 1946 treaty, providing for Trans-Jordan defense relations with Britain on a reciprocal basis.

2. The British commander of the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion of 15,000 men since 1939 will continue in his post under King Abdullah. No reduction in the number of British technical officers serving with Trans-Jordan's desert striking force is contemplated.

Note: It was announced that Britain had made no alteration in a grant of £2,000,000 for keeping up Trans-Jordan's armed forces during the fiscal year beginning April 1.

72:48 Trade Agreement Between Poland and Soviet Zone of Germany

March 16, Berlin

1. Provides for an exchange of goods amounting to $56,000,000.

2. Poland to supply coal, coke, benzol, pig iron and foodstuffs, particularly fish.

3. Soviet zone to export potash, wood, scrap iron, machinery and chemicals.

73:48 Fifty Year Treaty Signed

March 17, Brussels

Fifty year treaty signed by Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Britain "to afford assistance to each other, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any policy of aggression."

The treaty makes the following provisions, among others:

1. The contracting parties will : "so organize and co-ordinate their economic activities to produce the best possible results, by the elimination of conflict in their economic policies, co-ordination of production and development of commercial exchanges . . . both by direct consultation and in specialized agencies to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples and to develop on corresponding lines the social and other related services of their countries."

2. "If any of the high contracting parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other high contracting parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the UN, afford the party so attacked all military and other aid and assistance in their power."

3. "All measures taken as a result of the preceding article shall be immediately reported to the Security Council. They shall be terminated as soon as the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

4. For the purpose of consulting on questions having to do with this treaty the parties shall form a Council to meet and discuss problems and which shall be able to exercise its functions continuously.

5. "The high contracting parties may, by agreement, invite any other State to accede to the present treaty on conditions to be agreed between them and the State so invited. Any State so invited may become a party to the treaty by depositing an instrument of accession with the Belgian Government. . . . "

74:48 Soviet-Bulgarian Pact

March 18, Moscow

A twenty-year treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual defense provides: "In the event of one of the high contracting parties being drawn into military action against a Germany trying to resume her aggressive policy, or with any other State which directly or in any other form would be united with Germany in a policy of aggression, the other high contracting party will at once give military and any other aid, in accordance with the means at her disposal, to the high contracting party involved in military action."

75:48 Netherlands-Argentine Trade Treaty

March 18, Buenos Aires

1. Five year treaty under which both countries will open a rotating credit up to 110,000,000 pesos for each other.

2. In addition Argentina will grant Holland a special credit of 125,000,000 pesos to be redeemed after five years.

3. Holland to build ships and dredges for the Argentine to a total minimum value of 325,000,000 pesos, and to supply industrial products such as machinery, harbor installations, textiles and chemicals.

4. Indonesia, Surinam and Curacao to supply Argentina with raw materials such as tin, rubber, oil, etc.

5. Argentina to supply a minimum of 450,000 tons of grain annually as well as quantities of quebracho extract and casein hides, wool, meat in powdered form, oils, fats, yeast, and other products obtained by Holland from Argentina before the war.
Note: Holland not to pay higher prices for grain than those prevailing in world market.

76:48 Statements by Scandanavian Premiers

March 18, Stockholm

In a joint statement at the Concert Hall in Stockholm, the premiers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark affirmed their decision to defend the freedom of their countries against outside aggression by any means available.

77:48 France Signs Agreements With Switzerland, Italy and Poland

March 19, Paris

1. Agreement with Switzerland established a free market for Swiss francs in Paris. As in the case of the dollar, Swiss buyers can pay half of their bills at the free rate and half at the controlled rate of 50 French francs to one Swiss franc.
Note: It is understood that the Swiss National Bank will advance 15,000,000 Swiss francs to the French to get the new system started.

2. Agreement with Italy provides for traders to base their contracts on a cross rate calculated by taking the average of the free and pegged rates of the dollar in Rome and Paris respectively. A new lira-franc rate of 215 lire for 100 francs will be established.

3. The Polish agreement settled economic and financial questions between the two countries by (a) paving the way for exportation of coal from Poland to France; (b) arranging to compensate for the nationalization of French holdings in Poland annual deliveries of coal beginning in 1951.

3a. As a part of the regular commercial exchanges, France will export $60,000,000 worth of industrial and automotive equipment and Poland will send France 5,000,000 tons of coal between 1948-52.

78:48 British-Cuban Air Pact

March 19, Havana

Bilateral air agreement provides reciprocal benefits for planes in commercial air servive between the two countries.

79:48 U.S. Requests the U.S.S.R. To Stop Interference With Broadcasts

March 20, Washington

US Ambassador W. B. Smith requested the Soviet Government to take "effective remedial measures" against jamming of the "Voice of America" broadcasts to the Far East in the Russian language.

80:48 Notes and Statements On Trieste

Western Statement

March 20, Washington

1. "The Governments of the US and UK and France have proposed to the Governments of the Soviet Union and Italy that those Governments join in agreement on an additional protocol to the treaty of peace with Italy which would place the Free Territory of Trieste once more under Italian sovereignty."

2. The reasons given are the impossibility thus far for the Security Council to choose a governor for the territory under the present plan, and that Yugoslavia, by procedures not in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, has virtually transformed the character of the Yugoslav zone into Yugoslav territory.

Yugoslav Note (Ambassador Kosanovich)

March 20, Washington

1. Accuses American press and radio of a campaign concerning Yugoslav intentions in regard to Trieste.

2. "It was Yugoslavia that liberated Trieste from the Germans on May 2, 1945. Later when the peace negotiations finally started Yugoslavia did her utmost for the establishment of what she believed to be a truly democratic solution for Trieste. Yugoslavia's views did not prevail, but she accepted the solution that was agreed upon."

3. In spite of all Yugoslavia sought a friendly solution to problems arising out of the war.

4. "As to the form of the State Department's present proposal, it will be noted that Italy is to be included in the negotiations but that Yugoslavia, an ally, is not even invited, although Yugoslavia, under the peace treaty, exercises jointly with the United States and Great Britain responsibility for maintenance of the Free Territory."

5. "I do not know if it is intended to seek to provoke Yugoslavia into a step that might provide the excuse for direct action by other nations in this situation. I do not know why here, as in other matters, the Government of the United States prefers not to avail itself of the machinery of the United Nations. . . . "

Yugoslav Note

March 22, Belgrade

Reiterates most of what was said in the Kosanovich note above, and adds:

"Finally, the Yugoslav Government considers that submitting such a proposal at the time of the pre-electoral campaign in Italy can serve only the fomenting of chauvinist hatred toward the Yugoslav people and . . . sharpening of internal political relations in Italy, and neither is in the interests either of the Italian people itself or of strengthening of peace in this part of Europe."

Italian Statement

March 25, Rome

There is no basis for a direct understanding between Italy and Yugoslavia other than the solution offered by the tripartite proposal, according to an official in the Italian Foreign Office.

81:48 Guatemala Denies Role In Costa Rica

March 20, San Jose

In a note handed to Costa Rican Foreign Minister Alvaro Bonilla Lara by Guatemalan Minister Dr. Alberto Herrate, the Guatemalan government denied that it had been giving aid to rebel forces in Costa Rica and said that reports to the effect were circulated to discredit Guatemala at the Bogota Conference, and that the rumors should be given a complete investigation.

82:48 U.S.-Capital Loan Agreement

March 23, New York.

A $65,000,000 loan from the U. S. (interest-free) to construct the six-block UN capital. Repayment, over 32 years, will vary from $1,000,000, starting in 1951, to a peak of $2,500,000 and back to $1,000,000 annually.

83:48 Final Act of ITO Conference Signed

March 24, Havana

Fifty-three of the 56 eligible delegations to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment signed the Final Act authenticating the text of the proposed International Trade Organization.
Note: The three nations not signing were Argentina, Poland and Turkey.
(See *UN Dairy* p. 38-43 and *World Business* p. 52.)

84:48 Swiss-Soviet Trade Pact

March 24, Geneva

1. One year trade and commercial agreement, renewable unless notification is given by either nation within six months.

2. Provides for most favored nation type of treatment of products and of Swiss vessels in Russian ports as well as arbitration of commercial disputes.

3. Provides for delivery of 120,000,000 Swiss francs (approx. $28,200,000) worth of Russian wheat, rye, barley wood, heavy chemicals and gasoline by the Soviets. (15,000 tons of gasoline and 100,000 tons of wheat during the first year).

4. Switzerland to deliver machine tools, machinery, dyes, medicine, cotton textiles, silk thread, shoes and a thousand head of breeding cattle to the value of 75,000,000 francs.
Note: 80,000,000 francs worth of heavy machinery and electrical equipment to be delivered over a long term.

85:48 U.S. Reply to Soviet Note

March 26, Washington

1. In regard to Soviet note of March 6th: "This statement does not correspond to the facts." The note denies that the aim of the U. S. is the division of Germany, insists it is expedition of economic unity.

2. "The threat to the authority of the Allied Control Council does not arise from the actions of the United States, but rather from the consistent pursuit by the Soviet Government in the Eastern zone of Germany of a systematic unilateral policy of its own. The Soviet Government has failed to observe the principle of economic unity provided for in Section III B, 14 of the Potsdam Agreement. . . . "

3. "The Soviet Government has furthermore carried out in its zone a unilateral policy with respect to political activity. The Potsdam Agreement envisages that local self-government would be re-established throughout Germany on democratic principles. . . .

"In actual practice, however, the Socialist party was suppressed by the imposed amalgamation with the Communist party in the Socialist Unity party which has become a new bulwark for a totalitarian regime in Eastern Germany, while the other authorized political parties have been subjected to pressure, discrimination and intimidation, and have not been enabled to function freely.

"Basic human rights are being denied the population, while concentration camps are being used anew. . . . "

4. It is not the action of the Western nations which is splitting Europe, but rather such acts as the Soviet's note of March 6th and the criticisms of the ERP.

86:48 New Soviet Protest Note to Iran

March 28, Teheran

Again protested U. S.military activity in Iran and stated that Iran's denial was unconvincing. It also stated that a charge of alleged action by Soviet troops on Iranian borders was "nonsense."

THERE WAS AN ANCIENT COUNTERFEITER

DUNKIRK ATTACKED FROM WITHIN

NEW TRIAL FOR SOCRATES IN ATHENS

Arms and the Moose

Add travel hazards: herds of moose hat get in the way of trains in cen-ral Norway. After more than 30 of ne animals were killed by speeding ocomotives in a recent fortnight, train rews were given high-powered rifles nd ammunition. Their orders are to epel the invading herds; if any moose s run down, put it out of its misery.

The Easy Submersible Life

Submarines have recently become opular on the not-too-well-fed Eu-opean continent. This singular en-husiasm is not due to any recent ex-loits or extraordinary heroism on he part of anyone. It traces back to n announcement released by the British submarine, *Ambush*, after re-urn from a 5-week cruise in the Ant-rctic. The Naval Service, the an-nouncement said, had examined the rew of five officers and 50 sailors nd found they had gained an aver-ge of 10 lbs. each.

The Defense Rests Not

A young Italian law student at the University of Palermo in Sicily has ot it into his head to secure a re-rial on a decision that was handed lown just 2,347 years ago. He has vritten a remarkable dissertation proving that the trial and condemna-tion of Socrates was invalid on the ground of error in procedure.

The student will leave soon for Athens to join forces with Alexander Paradopoulos, a lawyer, who 20 years ago made an unsuccessful at-tempt to obtain from the Supreme Court of Greece a revision of the de-cision against the ancient philoso-pher. The two men hope to obtain a retrial and reversal, hoping thereby to set a moral example — particular-ly for those who today find it so easy to condemn others to severe punish-ment and fine. Perhaps 2,347 years from now, their names will be re-membered for this action.

Nor will the idealism be without material compensation. A US pub-lishing house has indicated that it will print the story of their efforts.

One other vindication of a man unjustly condemned is now being written by Hu Shih, former Chinese Ambassador to Washington (who may become the next President of China) about a scholar condemned by a Chinese Court more than 1600 years ago.

Antoine's Last Note

In the little village of Cirey in France, Antoine Garnier recently died at the ripe old age of 102. Old An-toine himself had assisted at the burial of the friends of his own gen-eration and, in fact, had never missed a single burial in the village during his last 83 years. The remarkable thing about him was not his morbid-ity nor his great age, but the fact that he had spent 75 long years in the same profession — that of coun-terfeiting. Nonetheless his funeral was attended by all the village folk, including the police authorities. Speeches were many and long. Every-one of the speakers mentioned An-toine's devotion to his career, but not one of them was inconsiderate enough to mention the nature of his work.

In spite of the marks of honor paid him by his neighbors, his one great desire was denied him. He had asked that these words be inscribed on his tombstone:

"Here lies Antoine Garnier (1846-1948) who surpassed the world rec-ord in the practice of his profession, master counterfeiter."

The last two words were omitted.

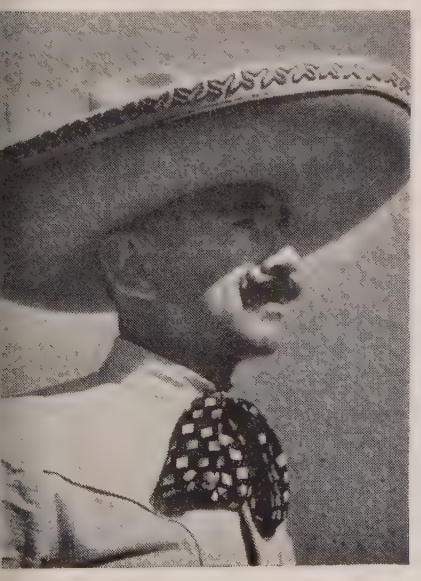
Dunkirk's New Ordeal

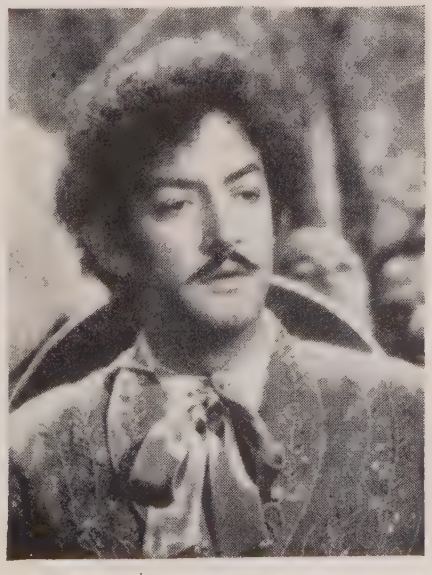
Dunkirk, France, is one of those cities which, like some families and indi-viduals, seems to be stalked by ad-versity. Eight years ago, come June, it was devastated by war. War passed and reconstruction began. But now Dunkirk has been struck again. This time it is a mysterious fungus (the "*mérule*") which literally devours wood through the strongest materials, wreaking havoc on old and new build-ings alike. Dunkirk's inhabitants are facing this plague as they did the last, with quiet determination. Scien-tists are stumped. The fungus is spreading in other nearby communi-ties, endangering the whole area.

Which Is the Witch?

Oudewater, a placid hamlet near the Dutch cheese center of Gouda, main-tains a public scales with a difference: this one is for weighing witches. It dates back to the 16th century, when the unsuperstitious Oudewater burgh-ers set it up to counter then-current hysteria. Its use is simple and can still be invoked. Anyone accused of witchcraft can be tried by the town fathers, the official midwife and the Weigh Master. The last-named simply weighs the accused and announces that she — or he — is too heavy to ride a broomstick — and so must be set free.

REAL VERSUS FICTIONAL CABALLEROS





BONA FIDE *charros*, like the sober, military-mustached gentleman horseman above, have protested against their government's exporting films which picture them as reck-less, rollicking, overly-dressed adventurers, of the type portrayed by actor Jorge Negrete.

Attention: I. B. M.

Information from Brussels verifies the discovery of a new mathematical wizard. M. Oscar Verhaeque, recently examined by a jury of expert accountants, university professors and businessmen, proved he could solve complicated mathematical problems faster than a super-modern calculating machine. Verhaeque gave correct answers during an uninterrupted 90 minute session, solving all types of mathematical problems from simple addition to logarythms. He multiplied 12,345,679 x 27 in less than one minute, and gave the cube root of 728 in 27 seconds.

Lost Decade Refound

This is one instance of a really happy ending to a movie. Irene, 17, and John, 12, had been found by the American troops as they advanced into Germany in 1945. They were among the many thousands of lost children of Europe who remember practically nothing of their early childhood. Irene and John had forgotten their birthplace, their parents, even their names.

One evening recently the two attended a movie in their DP camp. Suddenly in the quiet theatre Irene began to cry heartbrokenly. She had just recognized a bit of land and a farmhouse which were being shown on the screen. The camera shifted to the orchard and then even John remembered and shouted with her. "Our trees . . . We know those trees!"

The social director of the camp tried to work on the awakening memory for further information, perhaps even a name, but with no success. Finally, he wrote to the movie company to get the locale of the story shown that evening. He learned that the picture had been taken in the region of Blois in France. The home was found and the children's father, a Frenchman of Polish origin who had sent his wife and family to Poland shortly before the war. The mother was killed and the children deported to Germany, where they had lost all memory of their earlier life. For years the father had been desperately trying to discover the fate of his little family, and had finally given them up for dead.

No Cold War in the Arctic

American Mountain is a humped up, bleak island in the Lena Delta, formed where Siberia's Lena River empties into the Arctic Ocean. In 1881 a number of American explorers, headed by Lt. Cmdr. George Washing DeLong, survived the wreck of their ship, the *Jeannette*, only to perish later on the island. A crude wooden cross was set up and the mountain named for them, though in those days the Czarist government looked with some disfavor on the revolutionary doctrines of the young western nation the men represented.

Recently, during a period when the U. S. has been verbally chastising the young Soviet government for its revolutionary techniques, a Russian expedition to the region of American Mountain rebuilt the cross which had been destroyed by Arctic winds.

White Elephant Sale

Norway's "white elephant," Vidkun Quisling's luxurious brick-and-timber villa in Oslo, finally is going to have tenants. During the war Quisling gave lavish banquets for top Nazis there; afterward, the state confiscated the castle but, despite the housing sho age, could not persuade anyone to li in it. Now it will become a hospit

Chili for Neurotics

Psychologically speaking, anyo who enjoys hot chili is just a m sochist. So says Sir C. V. Rama R.S.R., member of the Indian Aca emy of Sciences. The tongue can d tinguish only four tastes — salt, sou bitter, sweet. Thus eating peppers, D Raman points out, is simply a "pro ess of torture." He thinks it should make a moral crime.

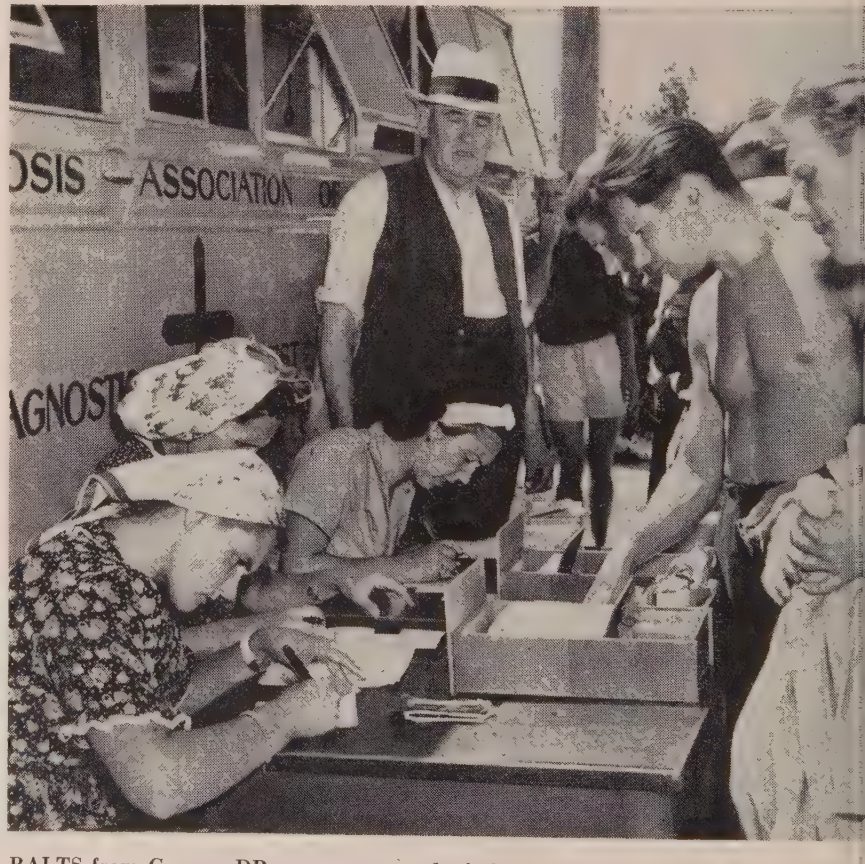
Time Stood Still

Shanghai's *China Weekly Review* r cently carried an item reading:

"The Chinese Republic was esta lished 12 years ago. During this p riod what has been its history? Wh has it accomplished? Nothing! Not ing! Nothing! . . . Loans were rec lessly contracted for carrying fratricidal war . . . The nation is in poverished in order to enrich th officialdom. The whole nation suffe . . . because a few officials hank after power and wealth."

The item was reprinted from an a ticle the *Review* ran in 1923.

AUSTRALIA PREFERS BLONDS



BALTS from German DP camps get a recheck for tuberculosis as part of immigrati procedures in an Australian camp. Already receiving 12,000, Australia has agreed accept up to 20,000 "acceptable" persons a year if IRO makes ships available.

SARMIENTO — THE GREAT ARGENTINE
McWILLIAMS ANALYZES US ANTI-SEMITISM
PROFESSOR TOYNBEE'S NEW BOOK

Are Americans Really Interested *in International Affairs?*

BY FON W. BOARDMAN, JR.
Columbia University Press

Nothing could have been more discouraging to those who believe in books as one instrument for understanding and solving international post-war problems than a recent report on the 1947 reading preferences of Americans.

The figures showed clearly that, in libraries, books on psychology and on homemaking were most in demand by a good margin. Americans were concerned with personal and family problems. Books on international affairs gathered dust on the shelves. Americans didn't care in the least what was going on in the world — or how those goings on affected the United States.

Although this side of the argument has sound statistics in its favor and the other doesn't, there is some reason for thinking that this is another demonstration of the ability of figures to lie.

Certainly publishers will admit, at least among themselves — and the best-seller lists confirm — that books about the war and its aftermath have not done very well. None has had a phenomenal success. Perhaps there have been too many of them. Perhaps none of them had anything really important to say. Who can blame the average person for being a bit fed up with another book entitled, *I knew Joe Blotz Before He was Dictator of Mixo-Lydia,* by Sam Snerd who visited Mixo-Lydia for two weeks once? As between reading that or Toynbee's *A Study of History,* which shows the greater real interest in the fate of the world? And Toynbee is still on the best-seller list.

Reading a book is one thing. Seeking information and understanding can be something entirely different, even though the printed word is the source of that information and understanding. Again, there are no complete figures to back up the statement, but it seems clear that, while fewer Americans were *reading* books on international affairs, more Americans than ever have, in the past year, been *studying* world events. There is a tremendous demand for inexpensive pamphlet material and for study guides for clubs.

Like Sam Snerd's book, the official *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1946-47* has not appeared on any best-seller list. But those who know the book business will hardly deny that the sale within three months of publication of nearly 2,000 copies of this heavily documented, 1,000-page volume, at a list price of $10 is encouraging rather than the opposite.

Today almost exactly twice as many American college and public libraries have standing orders for the purchase of every official document and study issued by the United Nations as ever subscribed to the publications of the League of Nations. Anyone examining this list would be surprised most of all at some of the relatively small libraries which must be straining their budgets to make this material available to their readers.

Documents Replace Texts

Several sources of information seem to make this a safe statement: more students in secondary schools and colleges are studying international relations than ever before. They are using more textbooks in this field than ever before. Most significant is the fact that much of their textbook material is not the pre-war kind of "schoolbook" but official documents and up-to-the-minute reports.

Most interesting of all, perhaps, is the increased attention on the part of business and industry to books and reports on the economic state of the world. It is easy to pass this off as being mere selfish profit seeking, but it seems to go deeper than that. It begins to look as though American business, supposedly isolationist and imperialistic in its economics, had accepted the fact that this is one world so far as commerce and industry are concerned. Before the war few business men would have reached for the telephone to order a copy as soon as they read in the newspaper that the United Nations had released its first world-wide *Economic Report.*

It is no doubt true that fewer people are reading books about international affairs today than were a few years ago. Not as many people want to read a book to find out "what." There is, however, some reason for believing that more people are seeking, through books, the "why" of world events — past, present, and future. Quantitatively the picture is worse; qualitatively it is probably better. Those who are reading are not doing it for pleasure or excitement. Who could get any fun out of accounts of present-day events and problems?

There are, of course, pessimistic aspects of the situation. Too many persons are content with their present state of ignorance, apathy, and prejudice to read and study good books on international affairs. The fact remains that such interest as is expressed today through books — and it is not as meager as it seems — is deep and serious. Its most significant point is this: it does not approach the subject as though the United States were on another planet. It assumes that we are participants, not spectators.

It is easy to over-emphasize the part books can play in solving the world's problems. They are only tools which can be of some assistance, but they certainly have their place in any scheme of things which looks ultimately to the time when it will be agreed without debate that "all mankind is of one Author."

Which of these articles should YOU read *NOW* . . . FOR PLEASURE . . . FOR PROFIT . . . FOR KNOWLEDGE

The Unassailable Vandenberg

by Richard H. Rovere

He now stands on the safest ground in American politics. His prestige is global. The press of the world hurries to report everything he says. Yet the Republican Party seems to be playing a tug of war over Taft, Stassen, Dewey, Warren, and MacArthur. Why? You'll be ahead of the headlines if you acquaint yourself with the Senator from Michigan before the Republican Convention convenes.

Little Donald Took an Axe

by Robert E. Coulson

Despite millions of dollars spent on playgrounds, recreational centers, etc., juvenile delinquency is increasing. In fact, the problem seems to grow worse in direct proportion to the amount of sociology applied to it. Read this penetrating article by a former State's attorney.

The Book Clubs

by Merle Miller

The author of the current best-seller "That Winter" tells the story of the amazing rise of the Book-of-the-Month Club, the Literary Guild, and kindred clubs. What has been the real influence of these clubs on the reading taste of the public? Why do the book stores resent this kind of competition? Read how some 6,000,000 Americans have their reading picked for them every month by the book clubs.

The Guilty Vicarage

by W. H. Auden

One of today's foremost poets turns his prose pen to a shrewd and entertaining appraisal of the detective story – that unique diversion of the American public. If you're an addict yourself, you'll read your next novel of suspense with renewed interest. If you're opposed to them, you'll be tempted to try one.

The Long Stretch

HOW THEY FLY THE ATLANTIC

by Wolfgang Langewiesche

Did you know that no paying passenger has ever been lost at sea while flying the Atlantic? Did you know that pilots deliberately seek out storm areas in order to gain time? With high technical knowledge and a rare gift for talking the layman's language, this noted author reveals six "tricks" which help make flying the Atlantic faster and safer

The Universe and Dr. Einstein

by Lincoln Barnett

The second in this popular series which effectively translates the vague concepts of modern science into understandable language. You'll be able to explain these concepts – including relativity, electrons and light quanta – to a child (and enjoy doing it) if you read this fascinating series.

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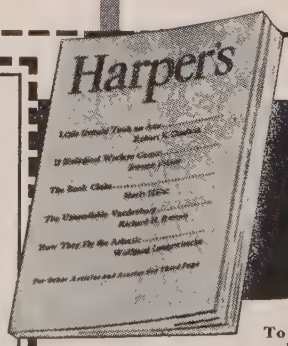

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Toynbee Looks Ahead

BRITAIN'S FAMOUS SCHOLAR APPLIES HIS MORAL GAUGE TO THE FIVE GREAT CULTURE GROUPS OF THE MODERN WORLD

BY ELSIE WEIL
Book Editor

About a year ago, with publication of Somervill's one-volume abridgement of his unfinished six-volume *Study of History*, Arnold J. Toynbee became a familiar name. The abridgement was a best seller and is still high up on the best seller list. Readers, confused by uncertainty and crises, undoubtedly were hungry for what Toynbee offers — a long perspective of history and the sweep of civilizations, their rise and fall, their challenges and conflicts, their contributions to culture.

He gives the reader a sense of belonging to a whole world in time and space and sharpens his ability to evaluate the parochialism, both of individuals and of nations, which has prevented the United Nations from functioning at full strength.

The new book by Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (Oxford University Press, $3.50), is closer and more pertinent than *A Study of History* to the problems that trouble us all. Into it he has woven his theories on the history of civilizations, but his direct concern is with the present and the future.

The majority of the essays collected in this volume are based on addresses delivered or articles published in 1947; a few date back some years, but they all fuse into a harmonious and purposeful whole. As Toynbee says: "The book has, in the writer's mind, a unity of outlook, aim, and idea which, he hopes, will be felt by his readers. The unity of outlook lies in the standpoint of a historian who sees the Universe and all that therein is — souls and bodies, experiences and events — in irreversible movement through time-space."

Toynbee is eminently qualified to fuse the long perspective with the immediate urgency. During the first World War he was an expert on the Near East for the British Foreign Office. Later, as a correspondent reporting the Greco-Turkish War, he witnessed the ravages of battle at first hand. For many years Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and Editor of its annual Survey of International Affairs, he has had an exceptional opportunity to observe unfolding events.

Furthermore, Toynbee was grounded in a thorough classical education that is rare today, and he has read omniverously, sifting every available source to fill out his pattern of historical interpretation. No ivory-tower scholar, he can galvanize the lay reader into thought and action by his vivid discussion of the historical background and development of the present critical period.

The book takes its title from the essay "Civilization on Trial," originally delivered as a lecture at Princeton in 1947. Here Toynbee asserts that "though the unification of the world has been finally achieved in a Western framework, the present Western ascendancy in the world is certain not to last." Both in time and space dimensions, he says, Western Christendom is strikingly narrow in its limits, and in a unified world "the 18 non-Western civilizations — four of them living, 14 extinct — will assuredly reassert their influence" and Western culture will be relegated to a more modest place.

The four living non-Western civilizations Toynbee divides into Orthodox Christianity (in Eastern Europe and Asia), Islam, the Hindu society and the Far Eastern society.

In this essay, and elsewhere in his book, he takes into consideration the possibility that man may exterminate the whole race, leaving the earth to the winged insects. "The challenge to us, in our generation," he charges, "is to see that this interpretation of

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The authorities mentioned above present their widely divergent arguments in their own words and the book has an extensive bibliography. **Second Printing.**

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history shall not become the true one."

In "Does History Repeat Itself," he emphasizes that "our present situation is formidable indeed." But, even though 14 of the 19 civilizations he has examined are extinct, he denies that the West must follow the same pattern of decline and fall. The West can, of course, commit social suicide, perhaps dragging the rest of the world with it, but it is "not doomed to make history repeat itself."

Even while recognizing the weakness of present world organization (which he attributes to the fact that the great powers are trying at one and the same time to launch a new system of co-operative world government and to play power politics likely to lead to a third world war) Toynbee places his faith first and foremost in the United Nations. He says no alternative can take the place of the United Nations "carried through to success" and he urges that this "is the goal toward which we ought still to strive with all our might, without allowing ourselves to be dismayed or deterred by difficulties, however baffling, at a stage which is, after all, still a early one.

Toynbee believes that somehow a way must be found between the extreme free enterprise of the United States and the extreme socialism of Russia, since these are the only great powers that dangerously confront each other.

He suggests that Great Britain and West Europe, now trying to work out a practical compromise between "unrestricted free enterprise and unrestricted socialism," may be able to influence the rest of the world "to get the issue of free enterprise versus socialism off its ideological pedestal" and treat it as "a practical question of trial and error."

This is merely a suggestion. The long perspective on history works both ways and Toynbee, although eager and anxious, offers no panacea for the present tensions. He can point back instructively over the 6,000 years he has traveled and he can hope, but he balances his optimism with pessimism.

Therefore, it is perhaps natural for him to turn to religion in his two concluding essays. At the end he affirms that the successive rises and falls of civilizations may be stepping stones to higher things.

A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America

by Carey McWilliams. Boston, Little Brown & Co. $2.75

The "noisy" refusal of a Saratoga hotel in 1877 to accept Joseph Seligman, the New York banker and his family, is presented in A MASK FOR PRIVILEGE as one of the first major manifestations of anti-Semitism in the United States. The incident, given widespread publicity, was condemned in editorial comment and received generally with surprise and incredulity as contrary to fundamental American traditions. Henry Ward Beecher, a friend of Seligman, preached a scathing sermon on the subject in his famous Brooklyn church, but he insisted that the incident was a "momentary flash of insult" that should be ignored.

Beginning with this, Carey McWilliams, distinguished sociologist (see page 31), proceeds to trace the growth and analyze the causes of anti-Semitism in the United States through the 7 years following the Seligman incident. A MASK FOR PRIVILEGE is a forthright and courageous denunciation of the American brand of anti-Semitism and of its alarming spread in recent years.

McWilliams makes not merely a defense of the Jews but a plea for housecleaning. He holds that anti-Semitism in its very nature is a social disease symptomatic of social maladjustment and upheaval, capable of destroying a society and culture.

McWilliams admits that it will be a formidable task to eradicate anti-Semitism from the United States, but he urges a program of social and political action. It would include education of children against racism, "the creation of a real functional equality in American life" and acceptance by the United States of its obligations under the U. N. charter.

Many groups are thinking and working for the same principles as is Carey McWilliams. Whether or not they would wholly accept his economic theories, they should feel strengthened and more unified in their task by his vigorous and uncompromising book.

A Sarmiento Anthology. Translated from the Spanish

by Stuart Edgar Grummon. New Jersey, Princeton University Press. $5.00.

Few North Americans are acquainted with the life and work of

the great nineteenth century Argentine, Sarmiento — Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Since he tried to pattern his own life on that of Benjamin Franklin, whose *Autobiography* he studied avidly as a boy, Sarmineto was probably more friendly to the United States and more influenced by its government and culture than any other Latin American.

A concise biography by Allison Williams Bunkley serves as introduction to A SARMIENTO ANTHOLOGY, interpreting the man, his background, his work and his thinking. Sarmiento was a statesman, writer and educator.

Of the three he was proudest to be known as a school teacher. He was an intimate friend of Horace Mann, and into the school system of Argentina he introduced new methods from the United States and elsewhere. His portrait used to hang in every Argentine public school.

In political life Sarmiento was always a reformer and fighter. His goal was substitution of government by law for government by personalities. Because of his clashes with the turbulent *caudillo* rulers of the 1830's, he was exiled in 1840 to Chile. But he returned home to see some of his political ideals realized, at least temporarily. From 1865 to 1868 he was Argentine Minister to the United States; from 1868 to 1874, President of Argentina.

As a writer he was prodigious. It is said that there is complete edition of his collected works in Spanish.

The greater portion of the anthology is devoted to selections from his most important book, *Facundo*, a classic in Spanish, and to extracts from *Provincial Recollection*.

In 1847 and later just after the Civil War, as Argentine Minister, he traveled assiduously in this country. He admired the tremendous energy and progress of the United States and he had the sensitive perception to look beyond surface dross and vulgarity for fundamental social values. Sarmiento was a great and rich personality, a type more frequently met in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than today.

Our Plundered Planet

by Fairfield Osborn. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. $2.50.

This is a book of headlines, startling and spectacular, interspersed with stories of a "silent world-wide war" which may be more disastrous than any atomic war. It is United Nations business; it is yours.

In clear and challenging terms, Fairfield Osborn, President of the New York Zoological Society, reports on man's devastating conflict with nature. Agronomists, biologists and scientists in associated fields are well aware of the dangers in man's abuse of the earth. Osborn has written with an elemental but dignified simplicity.

He shows how all parts of nature are dependent upon every other, that life rests upon the four major elements: water and soil, plant life, from bacteria to forests, and animal life, from protozoa to mammals. If any essential part is destroyed, the machine breaks down. Through most of human history man has disregarded this basic law of nature and, in consequence, productive soil, the resource upon which all life depends, is destroyed by erosion.

This was brought home to the United States in 1934 by the great dust bowl created in five western states, due to overplowing and overgrazing of essential grasslands. An inch of the productive top soil takes from 300 to 1,000 years to build. It can be removed in a year, even in a day, by man's carelessness, ignorance or greed. Although chemicals can help artificial processes are no panacea.

Only the peoples of England, France, a few other countries of Western Europe and Japan, Osborn says, have cared for their lands as a sacred trust and means of subsistence. Vast wastes have been created by man in the Near East, Central Asia, China, India, the Mediterranean lands, Central and South America, Africa, Russia. But the Russians are now initiating vast undertakings to cope with their soil problems. The worst offender has been the United States, which in less than a century has ruthlessly destroyed forests, grasslands, wild animal and bird life.

Osborn has reduced statistics to a minimum and used the key ones with potent effect. He concludes: "Man must recognize the necessity of cooperating with nature. He must temper his demands and use and conserve the natural living resources of this earth in a manner that alone can provide for the continuation of his civilization."

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AN EDITORIAL — BY LOUIS DOLIVET

No Peace No Victory

WITHOUT THE UN

Those people who assume and proclaim that the UN is finished, are badly mistaken. None of the major powers will, or can, take the responsibility to abandon the new world organization whose Charter has been solemnly ratified by the parliament of 57 nations.

Were Russia to withdraw from the UN, then the Western world could rightly infer that the Soviets have eliminated themselves from the civilized international community. In such a case, a universal alliance against the Soviet Union could be created overnight.

On the contrary, were the US to leave the UN, then the Soviets would be in a position to assert that Washington is disregarding its solemn pledges in favor of a policy based on force.

Either of the two events would be an invaluable diplomatic triumph to the "Big Power" that adheres to the UN.

All the UN governments are conscious of the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind is in favor of an international organization for the maintenance of peace. No responsible statesman, East or West, would deliberately defy this world wide approval at the very moment when both East and West are engaged in a gigantic ideological struggle to win popular support for their respective policies. Most diplomatic observers are agreed that 14 hundred million people in Europe, Asia, Africa — and even some in the Soviet sphere and in the Americas — two thirds of all mankind, have not yet taken sides in the East-West struggle (see "Balance Sheet of Disaster" by Admiral Zacharias, quoted the world over, UNW April 1947).

As a matter of fact, the UN meetings serve as the great international platform which both sides use to prove to the world that their respective policies are in the interest of peace, justice, freedom and the welfare of mankind. Whichever side convinces the 14 hundred million people will have won the battle, will have isolated the other side and, in case of an aggression, will have gained the support necessary to smash the other side with the combined power of the peoples of the world.

But in order to achieve such a triumph, one of the two sides must adopt a complete pro-UN policy in all matters — even when it hurts.

Though responsibility for the present world crisis is widely distributed, and in varying degrees of gravity, it must be emphasized that none of the 57 nations — certainly none of the big five — has as yet completely conformed to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the UN.

Some countries have been guilty of grave deviations from the Charter on Security, Atomic or Disarmament matters. Others have either ignored or by-passed UN decisions, or have not conformed to the human rights or economic principles of the Charter. World public opinion, conscious of the discrepancy of solemn obligations an the day-by-day promises of the governments, is unable t rally whole-heartedly to any side and thus affect decisivel the present balance of power.

The situation as it exists has important repercussion on the problem of war. Under the UN Charter, the us of force can be considered lawful only in the followin two ways:

1. *On decision of the Security Council as a military action t the UN. The decision must be based on the existence of ar threat to peace, breech of the peace or act of aggression;*

2. *As individual or collective acts of self-defense, if an arme attack occurs against a member of the UN. The right self-defense exists only until the Security Council has take the measures necessary to maintain international peace ar security.*

Any country that would resort to war under any othe circumstances would place itself outside the UN. I government would become an international outlaw; i people, an aggressor nation.

There is no way of evading these solemn obligation today. Therefore, for the time being one should n assume that war will come until there is a direct arme attack against a member of the UN.

The political, legal and psychological difference betwee a war waged within the UN and one outside it, is th difference between law and crime. The law-abiding natio has the right to the support of ALL the world, th aggressor nation to nothing but the hostility of ever decent citizen of whatever nationality.

The major advantage in conforming to the UN political, for it means international law and world publ opinion on the side of the victim. In the last analysi fidelity to the UN will pay — in peace and war.

The crisis of the world, and thus of the UN, is sufficient grave to justify the reconsideration of the whole U structure. Not only the veto, but the whole voting proc dure, the trusteeship concept, the economic philosoph the implementation of the aims of the UN Charter, inte national obligations of national delegates to the UN, th question of direct popular representation, and innumerab others, require re-examination.

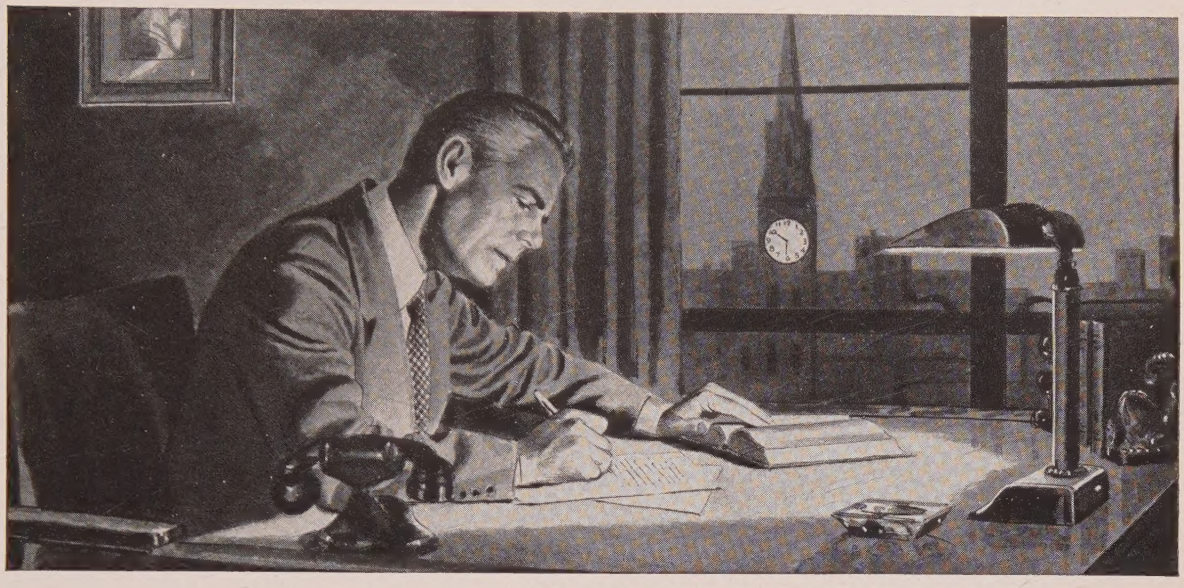
The best way seems to be to create a special Studi Section within the Secretariat with the necessary budge instruct it to consult within six months UN governmen private organizations and individuals everywhere in th world. Major proposals and suggestions could then submitted for decision to a General Conference of the U

The point of departure should be, not the widening divisions which already exist in the world today but, the contrary, the strengthening of the UN organization.

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS

What is it that brings one man success in life, and mediocrity or failure to his brother? It can't be mental capacity. There is not the difference in our mentalities that is indicated by the difference in performance.

The answer is, some men succeed because they cheerfully pay the price of success while others, though they claim ambition and a desire to succeed, are unwilling to pay that price.



THE PRICE OF SUCCESS IS—

To use all your courage to force yourself to concentrate on the problem in hand; to think of it deeply and constantly; to study it from all angles, and to plan ahead.

To have a high and sustained determination to achieve what you plan to accomplish, not only when conditions are favorable to its accomplishment, but in spite of all adverse circumstances which may arise.

To refuse to believe that there are any circumstances sufficiently strong to defeat you in the accomplishment of your purpose.

Hard? Of course. That's why so many men never reach for success, yield instead to the siren call of the rut and remain on the beaten paths that are for beaten men. Nothing of note has ever been achieved without constant endeavor, some pain and ceaseless application of the lash of ambition.

That's the price of success. Every man should ask himself: *Am I willing to endure the pain of this struggle for the rewards and the glory that go with achievement? Or shall I accept the uneasy and inadequate contentment that comes with mediocrity?*

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